Touroude de' Vaindrebanc fe.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES,

Tranſlated from the

GREEK,

BY

SEVERAL HANDS.

In Five Volumes.

VOL. I.

To which is prefixt
The LIFE of *PLUTARCH.*

LONDON,
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BODLEIAN
P
14 AUG 1953
LIBRARY

TO HIS

GRACE

THE

Duke of *Ormond*, &c.

MY LORD,

LUcretius, endeavouring to prove from the principles of his Philoſophy, that the World had a caſual beginning from the concourſe of *Atoms*; and that Men as well as the reſt of Animals, were produc'd from the vital heat and moiſture of their Mother Earth; from the ſame principles is bound to anſwer this objection, why Men are not daily form'd after the ſame manner, which he tells us is, becauſe the kindly Warmth, and procreative Faculty of the Ground is now worn out: The Sun is a diſabled Lover, and the Earth is paſt her teeming time.

Tho Religion has inform'd us better of our Origin, yet it appears plainly, that not only the Bodies, but the Souls of Men, have decreas'd from the vigour of the firſt Ages; that we are not more ſhort of the ſtature and ſtrength of thoſe Gygantick He-

roes, than we are of their Underſtanding, and their Wit. To let paſs thoſe happy Patriarchs, who were ſtriplings at fourſcore, and had afterwards ſeven or eight hundred years before them to beget Sons and Daughters; and to conſider Man in reference only to his Mind, and that no higher than the Age of *Socrates:* How vaſt a difference is there betwixt the productions of thoſe Souls, and theſe of ours? How much better *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, and the reſt of the Philoſophers underſtood Nature; *Thucydides*, and *Herodotus* adorn'd Hiſtory; *Sophocles*, *Euripides* and *Menander* advanc'd Poetry, than thoſe Dwarfs of Wit and Learning who ſucceeded them in after times? That Age was moſt famous amongſt the *Greeks*, which ended with the death of *Alexander*; amongſt the *Romans*, Learning ſeem'd again to revive and flouriſh in the Century which produc'd *Cicero*, *Varro*, *Saluſt*, *Livy*, *Lucretius* and *Virgil:* And after a ſhort interval of years, (wherein Nature ſeem'd to take a breathing time for a ſecond birth) there ſprung up under the *Veſpaſians*, and thoſe excellent Princes who ſucceeded them, a race of memorable Wits; ſuch as were the two *Plinies*, *Tacitus*, and *Suetonius*: and as if *Greece* was emulous of the *Roman* Learning, under the ſame favourable Conſtellation was born the famous Philoſopher and Hiſtorian *Plutarch*. Than whom Antiqui-

ty

ty has never produc'd a Man more generally knowing, or more virtuous; and no ſucceeding Age has equal'd him. His Lives, both in his own eſteem, and that of others, accounted the Nobleſt of his Works, have been long ſince render'd into *Engliſh*: But as that Tranſlation was only from the *French*, ſo it ſuffer'd this double diſadvantage; firſt, That it was but a Copy of a Copy, and that too but lamely taken from the *Greek* Original: Secondly, That the *Engliſh* Language was then unpoliſh'd, and far from the Perfection which it has ſince attain'd. So that the firſt Verſion is not only ungrammatical and ungraceful, but in many places almoſt unintelligible. For which Reaſons, and leſt ſo uſeful a piece of Hiſtory ſhou'd lie oppreſs'd under the rubbiſh of antiquated Words, ſome ingenious and learned Gentlemen have undertaken this Task: And what wou'd have been the labour of one Man's Life, will, by the ſeveral endeavours of many, be now accompliſh'd in the compaſs of a year. How far they have ſucceeded in this laudable attempt, to me it belongs not to determine, who am too much a Party to be a Judg: But I have the honour to be commiſſion'd from the Tranſlators of this Volume, to inſcribe their Labours and my own, with all humility, to your Grace's Name and Patronage. And never was any Man more ambitious of an employment, of

which he was ſo little worthy. Fortune has at laſt gratify'd that earneſt deſire I have always had, to ſhew my Devotion to your Grace; tho I deſpair of paying you my Acknowledgments. And of all other opportunities I have happen'd on the moſt favourable to my ſelf; who, having never been able to produce any thing of my own, which cou'd be worthy of your View, am ſupply'd by the aſſiſtance of my Friends, and honour'd with the Preſentation of their Labours. The Author they have tranſlated, has been long familiar to you: Who have been converſant in all ſorts of Hiſtory both Antient and Modern; and have form'd the Idea of your moſt Noble Life from the Inſtructions and Examples contain'd in them; both in the management of publick Affairs, and in the private Offices of Virtue; in the enjoyment of your better Fortune, and ſuſtaining of your worſe; in habituating your ſelf to an eaſy greatneſs; in repelling your Enemies, in ſuccouring your Friends, and in all traverſes of Fortune; in every colour of your Life, maintaining an inviolable Fidelity to your Sovereign. 'Tis long ſince that I have learn'd to forget the art of praiſing: but here the Heart dictates to the Pen; and I appeal to your Enemies, (if ſo much generoſity and good nature can have left you any) whether they are not conſcious to themſelves that I have not flatter'd.

'Tis

'Tis an Age indeed, which is only fit for Satyr; and the ſharpeſt I have ſhall never be wanting to launce its Villanies, and its ingratitude to the Government: There are few men in it, who are capable of ſupporting the weight of a juſt and deſerv'd Commendation: But amongſt thoſe few there muſt always ſtand excepted the Illuſtrious Names of *Ormond* and of *Oſſory*: A Father and a Son, only worthy of each other. Never was one Soul more fully infus'd into another's Breaſt: Never was ſo ſtrong an impreſſion made of Virtue, as that of your Grace's into him: But tho the ſtamp was deep, the ſubject which receiv'd it was of too fine a Compoſition to be durable. Were not priority of Time and Nature in the caſe, it might have been doubted which of you had been moſt excellent: But Heaven ſnatch'd away the Copy, to make the Original more precious. I dare truſt my ſelf no farther on this Subject: for after years of mourning my ſorrow is yet ſo green upon me, that I am ready to tax Providence for the loſs of that Heroick Son: Three Nations had a general concernment in his Death, but I had one ſo very particular, that all my hopes are almoſt dead with him; and I have loſt ſo much, that I am paſt the danger of a ſecond Shipwreck. But he ſleeps with an unenvy'd Commendation; and has left your Grace the ſad Le-

gacy of all thoſe Glories which he deriv'd from you. An acceſſion which you wanted not, who were ſo rich before in your own Virtues, and that high Reputation which is the product of them. A long deſcent of Noble Anceſtors was not neceſſary to have made you Great: But Heaven threw it in as over-plus when you were born. What you have done and ſuffer'd for two Royal Maſters, has been enough to render you Illuſtrious; ſo that you may ſafely wave the Nobility of your Birth, and rely on your Actions for your Fame. You have cancel'd the Debt which you ow'd to your Progenitors, and reflect more Brightneſs on their Memory than you receiv'd from them. Your Native Country, which Providence gave you not leave to preſerve under one King, it has given you opportunity under another to reſtore. You cou'd not ſave it from the Chaſtiſement which was due to its Rebellion, but you rais'd it from ruin after its repentance: So that the Trophies of War were the Portion of the Conqueror, but the Triumphs of Peace were reſerv'd for the Vanquiſh'd. The Misfortunes of *Ireland* were owing to it ſelf, but its Happineſs and Reſtoration to your Grace. The Rebellion againſt a Lawful Prince was puniſh'd by an Uſurping Tyrant: But the fruits of his Victory were the rewards of a Loyal Subject. How much that Noble

Kingdom

Kingdom has flouriſh'd under your Grace's Government, both the Inhabitants and the Crown are ſenſible. The Riches of *Ireland* are increas'd by it, and the Revenues of *England* are augmented. That which was the charge and burden of the Government, is render'd an advantage and ſupport: The Trade and Intereſt of both Countries are united in a mutual benefit: they conſpire to make each other happy; the dependance of the one is an improvement of its Commerce, the preeminence of the other is not impair'd by the Intercourſe; and common neceſſities are ſupply'd by both. *Ireland* is no more a *Cyon*, to ſuck the nouriſhment from the Mother Tree; neither is it overtop'd, or hinder'd from growth by the ſuperior branches: but the Roots of *England*, diving (if I may dare to ſay it) underneath the Seas, riſe at a juſt diſtance on the neighbouring Shore; and there ſhoot up, and bear a Product ſcarce inferior to the Trunk from whence they ſprung. I may raiſe the commendation higher, and yet not fear to offend the truth: *Ireland* is a better Penitent than *England:* The Crime of Rebellion was common to both Countries; but the repentance of one Iſland has been ſteady; that of the other, to its ſhame, has ſuffer'd a relapſe: Which ſhews the Converſions of their Rebels to have been real, that of ours to have been but counterfeit. The

Sons

Sons of guilty Fathers there, have made amends for the diſloyalty of their Families: But here the Deſcendents of pardon'd Rebels have only waited their time to copy the wickedneſs of their Parents, and if poſſible to outdo it: They diſdain to hold their Patrimonies by acts of Grace and of Indemnity: And by maintaining their old treaſonable Principles, make it apparent, that they are ſtill ſpeculative Traitors. For whether they are zealous Sectaries, or profane Republicans, (of which two ſorts they are principally compos'd) both our Reformers of Church and State, pretend to a Power ſuperior to Kingſhip. The Fanaticks derive their Authority from the Bible; and plead Religion to be antecedent to any ſecular obligation: By virtue of which Argument, taking it for granted that their own Worſhip is only true, they arrogate to themſelves the right of diſpoſing the Temporal Power, according to their Pleaſure; as that which is ſubordinate to the Spiritual: So that the ſame Reaſons, and Scriptures, which are urg'd by Popes for the depoſition of Princes, are produc'd by Sectaries for altering the Succeſſion. The Epiſcopal Reformation has manumiz'd Kings from the Uſurpation of *Rome*; for it preaches Obedience and Reſignation to the lawful ſecular Power: but the pretended Reformation of our Schiſmaticks, is to

ſet

ſet up themſelves in the Papal Chair; and to make their Princes only their Truſtees. So that whether they or the Pope were uppermoſt in *England*, the Royal Authority were equally depreſs'd: The Priſon of our Kings wou'd be the ſame; the Goalers only wou'd be alter'd. The broad Republicans are generally Men of Atheiſtick Principles, nominal Chriſtians, who are beholden to the Font, only that they are ſo call'd, otherwiſe *Hobbiſts* in their Politicks and Morals; Every Church is oblig'd to them that they own themſelves of none, becauſe their Lives are too ſcandalous for any. Some of the Sectaries are ſo proud, that they think they cannot ſin; thoſe Common-wealths Men are ſo wicked, that they conclude there is no Sin. Leudneſs, Rioting, Cheating and Debauchery, are their work-a-day Practice; Their more ſolemn Crimes, are unnatural Luſts, and horrid Murders. Yet theſe are the Patrons of the Non-Conformiſts; theſe are the Swords and Bucklers of God's Cauſe, if his Cauſe be that of Separatiſts and Rebels. 'Tis not but theſe Aſſociates know each other at the bottom, as well as *Simeon* knew *Levi*: The Republicans are ſatisfy'd, that the Schiſmaticks are Hypocrites, and the Schiſmaticks are aſſur'd that the Republicans are Atheiſts: But their common Principles of Government are the Chains that link them: For

both

both hold Kings to be Creatures of their own making, and by inference to be at their own diſpoſing. With this difference, notwithſtanding, that the Canting Party face their pretences with a Call from God; the debauch'd Party, with a Commiſſion from the People. So that if ever this ill contriv'd and equivocal Aſſociation ſhou'd get uppermoſt, they wou'd infallibly contend for the Supream right: and as it was formerly on their Mony, ſo now it wou'd be in their Intereſts; *God with us* wou'd be ſet upon one ſide, *and the Commonwealth of* England on the other. But I the leſs wonder at the mixture of theſe two Natures, becauſe two Salvage Beaſts of different Species and Sexes ſhut up together, will forget their Enmity to ſatisfy their common Luſt; and 'tis no matter what kind of Monſter is produc'd betwixt them, ſo the brutal appetite be ſerv'd. I more admire at a third Party, who were Loyal when Rebellion was uppermoſt, and have turn'd Rebels (at leaſt in Principles) ſince Loyalty has been Triumphant. Thoſe of them whoſe Services have not been rewarded, have ſome pretence for diſcontent; and yet they give the World to underſtand, that their Honour was not their Principle, but their Intereſt. If they are old Royaliſts, 'tis a ſign their Virtue is worn out, and will bear no longer; if Sons to Royaliſts, they have pro-

probably been grafted on Whig-ſtocks, and grown out of kind; like *China* Oranges in *Portugal*: Their Mother's part has prevail'd in them, and they are degenerated from the Loyalty of their Fathers.

But if they are ſuch, as many of them evidently are, whoſe ſervice has been not only fully but laviſhly recompens'd with Honours and Preferment, theirs is an ingratitude without parallel; they have deſtroy'd their former Merits, diſown'd the Cauſe for which they fought, bely'd their Youth, diſhonour'd their Age; they have wrought themſelves out of preſent Enjoyments, for imaginary Hopes, and can never be truſted by their new Friends, becauſe they have betray'd their old. The greater and the ſtronger Ties which ſome of them have had, are the deeper brands of their Apoſtacy: For Arch-Angels were the firſt and moſt glorious of the whole Creation: They were the morning-work of God; and had the firſt impreſſions of his Image, what Creatures cou'd be made: They were of kin to Eternity it ſelf; and wanting only that Acceſſion to be Deities. Their fall was therefore more opprobrious than that of Man, becauſe they had no Clay for their excuſe: Tho I hope and wiſh the latter part of the Allegory may not hold, and that Repentance may be yet allow'd them. But I delight not to dwell on ſo ſad an object:

ject: Let this part of the Landſchape be caſt into ſhadows, that the heightnings of the other may appear more beautiful. For as Contraries, the nearer they are plac'd are brighter, and the *Venus* is illuſtrated by the Neighbourhood of the *Lazar*, ſo the unblemiſh'd Loyalty of your Grace will ſhine more clearly, when ſet in competition with their Stains. When the Malady which had ſeiz'd the Nobler parts of *Britain*, threw it ſelf out into the Limbs, and the firſt Sores of it appear'd in *Scotland*, yet no effects of it reach'd your Province: *Ireland* ſtood untainted with that Peſt: The care of the Phyſician prevented the Diſeaſe, and preſerv'd the Country from Infection. When that Ulcer was rather ſtop'd than cur'd, (for the cauſes of it ſtill remain'd) and that dangerous Symptoms appear'd in *England*; when the Royal Authority was here trodden under foot, when one Plot was proſecuted openly, and another ſecretly fomented, yet even then was *Ireland* free from our Contagion: And if ſome venomous Creatures were produc'd in that Nation, yet it appear'd they could not live there: They ſhed their Poiſon without Effect: They deſpair'd of being ſucceſsfully wicked in their own Country, and tranſported their Evidence to another, where they knew 'twas vendible; where Accuſation was a Trade, where Forgeries were countenanc'd,

where

where Perjuries were rewarded, where Swearing went for proof, and where the Merchandize of Death was gainful. That their Teſtimony was at laſt diſcredited, proceeded not from its incoherence: For they were known by their own Party when they firſt appear'd; but their folly was then manag'd by the cunning of their Tutors; they had ſtill been believ'd, had they ſtill follow'd their Inſtructors: But when their Witneſs fell foul upon their Friends, then they were proclaim'd Villains, diſcarded and diſown'd by thoſe who ſent for them; they ſeem'd then firſt to be diſcover'd, for what they had been known too well before; they were decry'd as Inventors of what only they betray'd: Nay their very Wit was magnified, leſt being taken for Fools, they might be thought too ſimple to forge an Accuſation. Some of them ſtill continue here, deteſted by both ſides, believ'd by neither, (for even their betters are at laſt uncas'd) and ſome of them have receiv'd their hire in their own Country: For Perjury, which is malice to Mankind, is always accompanied with other Crimes; and tho not puniſhable by our Laws with Death, yet draws a train of Vices after it: The Robber, the Murderer, and the Sodomite, have often hung up the forſworn Villain: And what one Sin took on truſt, another Sin has paid. Theſe travelling Locuſts

cuſts are at length ſwallow'd up in their own Red Sea. *Ireland* as well as *England*, is deliver'd from that flying Plague; for the Sword of Juſtice in your Grace's Hand, like the Rod of *Moſes*, is ſtretcht out againſt them: And the third part of his Majeſties Dominions is owing for its Peace to your Loyalty and Vigilance.

But what *Plutarch* can this Age produce to immortalize a Life ſo Noble? May ſome excellent Hiſtorian at length be found, ſome Writer not unworthy of his Subject; but may his employment be long defer'd: May many happy years continue you to this Nation and your own; may your Praiſes be celebrated late; that we may enjoy you living, rather than adore you dead. And ſince yet there is not riſen up amongſt us any Hiſtorian, who is equal to ſo great an undertaking, let us hope that Providence has not aſſign'd the Workman, becauſe his employment is to be long delay'd; becauſe it has reſerv'd your Grace for farther proofs of your unwearied Duty, and a farther enjoyment of your Fortune. In which, tho no Man has been leſs envy'd, becauſe no other has more Nobly us'd it; yet ſome droppings of the Age's venom have been ſhed upon you: The Supporters of the Crown are plac'd too near it, to be exempted from the ſtorm which was breaking over it. 'Tis true, you ſtood involv'd in your

your own Virtue, and the Malice of your Libellers cou'd not ſink thro all thoſe folds to reach you. Your Innocence has defended you from their attacks, and your Pen has ſo nobly vindicated that Innocence, that it ſtands in need of no other Second. The difference is as plainly ſeen betwixt Sophiſtry and Truth, as it is betwixt the ſtile of a Gentleman, and the clumſy ſtifneſs of a Pedant. Of all Hiſtorians God deliver us from Bigots; and of all Bigots, from our Sectaries. Truth is never to be expected from Authors, whoſe Underſtandings are wrap'd with Enthuſiaſm: For they judg all Actions and their Cauſes by their own perverſe Principles; and a crooked line can never be the meaſure of a ſtreight one. Mr. *Hobbs* was us'd to ſay, That a Man was always againſt Reaſon, when Reaſon was againſt a Man: So theſe Authors are for obſcuring Truth, becauſe Truth would diſcover them. They are not Hiſtorians of an Action, but Lawyers of a Party: They are retain'd by their Principles, and brib'd by their Intereſts: Their Narrations are an opening of their Cauſe; and in the front of their Hiſtories, there ought to be written the Prologue of a pleading, *I am for the Plantiff, or I am for the Defendant.* We have already ſeen large Volumes of State Collections, and Church Legends, ſtuff'd with detected Forgeries in ſome parts, and gaping with Omiſ-

ſions of truth in others: Not pen'd I ſuppoſe with ſo vain a hope as to cheat Poſterity, but to advance ſome Deſign in the preſent Age: For theſe Legerdemain Authors are for telling Stories, to keep their trick undiſcover'd; and to make their conveyance the more clean. What calumny your Grace may expect from ſuch Writers, is already evident: But it will fare with them, as it does with ill Painters; a Picture ſo unlike in all its Features and Proportions, reflects not on the Original, but on the Artiſt: For malice will make a Piece more unreſembling than ignorance: And he who ſtudies the life, yet bungles, may draw ſome faint imitation of it; but he who purpoſely avoids Nature, muſt fall into Groteſque, and make no Likeneſs. For my own part I am of the former ſort; and therefore preſume not to offer my unskilfulneſs for ſo excellent a deſign, as is your illuſtrious Life: To pray for its proſperity and continuance is my duty; as it is my Ambition to appear on all occaſions,

Your Grace's moſt obedient

and devoted Servant,

JOHN DRYDEN.

THE

THE

Publiſher *to the* Reader.

YOU *have here the firſt* Volume *of* Plutarch's *Lives, turn'd from the* Greek *into* Engliſh; *and (give me leave to ſay) the* firſt Attempt *of doing it from the* Originals. *You may expect the* Remainder *in four more; one after another, as faſt as they may conveniently be diſpatch'd from the Preſs. It is not my buſineſs, or pretence, to judg of a work of this quality, neither do I take upon me to recommend it to the World any farther, than under the Office of a fair and a careful Publiſher, and in diſcharge of a Truſt depoſited in my hands for the ſervice of my Country, and for a Common good. I am not yet ſo inſenſible of the Authority and Reputation of ſo great a Name, as not to conſult the* Honour *of the* Author, *together with the* benefit *and* ſatisfaction *of the* Bookſeller, *as well as of the* Reader, *in this undertaking. In order to which ends, I have with all poſſible* Reſpect *and* Induſtry, Beſought, Sollicited, *and* Obtain'd *the aſſiſtance of Perſons equal to the Enterprize, and not only* Criticks *in the* Tongue, *but Men of* known Fame *and*

 Abilities,

Abilities, *for* Style *and* Ornament, *but I ſhall rather refer you to the Learned and Ingenious Tranſlators of this* firſt Part, *(whoſe Names you will find in the next Page) as a* Specimen *of what you may promiſe your ſelf from the* Reſt.

After this Right done to the Greek Author, *I ſhall not need to ſay what profit and delight will accrue to the* Engliſh Reader *from* this Verſion, *when he ſhall ſee this* Illuſtrious Piece *in his own* Mother Tongue; *and the very* Spirit *of the* Original, *transfus'd into the* Traduction. *And in one word,* Plutarch's Worthies *made yet more famous, by a* Tranſlation *that gives a farther Luſtre, even to* Plutarch *himſelf.*

Now as to the Bookſeller's *Part; I muſt juſtify my ſelf, that I have done all that to me belonged: That is to ſay, I have been punctually* Faithful *to all my Commiſſions toward the* Correctneſs *and the* Decency *of the* Work; *and I have ſaid to my ſelf, that which I now ſay to the Publick.*

It is impoſſible, but a Book that comes into the World with ſo many Circumſtances of Dignity, Uſefulneſs and Eſteem, muſt turn to account.

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THE

PLUTARCH

THE LIFE OF PLUTARCH.

Written by Mr. DRYDEN.

I Know not by what Fate it comes to paſs, that Hiſtorians, who give Immortality to others, are ſo ill requited by Poſterity, that their Actions and their Fortunes are uſually forgotten; neither themſelves incourag'd while they live, nor their Memory preſerv'd entire to future Ages. 'Tis the ingratitude of Mankind to their greateſt Benefactors, that they, who teach us Wiſdom by the ſureſt ways, (ſetting before us what we ought to ſhun, or to purſue, by the Examples of the moſt Famous Men whom they record, and by the

Experience of their Faults and Virtues) ſhould generally live poor and unregarded; as if they were born only for the publick, and had no intereſt in their own well-being, but were to be lighted up like Tapers, and to waſt themſelves for the benefit of others. But this is a complaint too general, and the Cuſtom has been too long eaſtbliſh'd to be remedied; neither does it wholly reach our Author: He was born in an Age, which was ſenſible of his Virtue; and found a *Trajan* to reward him, as *Ariſtotle* did an *Alexander*. But the Hiſtorians, who ſucceeded him, have either been too envious, or too careleſs of his Reputation; none of them, not even his own Countrymen, having given us any particular account of him; or if they have, yet their Works are not tranſmitted to us: ſo that we are forc'd to glean from *Plutarch*, what he has ſcatter'd in his Writings concerning himſelf, and his Original. Which (excepting that little memorial, that *Suidas*, and ſome few others, have left concerning him) is all we can collect, relating to this Great Philoſopher and Hiſtorian.

He was born at *Chæronea*, a ſmall City of *Bœotia* in *Greece*, between *Attica* and *Phocis*, and reaching to both Seas. The Climate not much befriended by the Heavens; for the Air is thick and foggy; and conſequently the Inhabitants partaking of its influence,

fluence, groſs Feeders, and fat witted; brawny, and unthinking, juſt the Conſtitution of Heroes: Cut out for the Executive and brutal buſineſs of War; but ſo ſtupid in the deſigning part, that in all the revolutions of *Greece* they were never Maſters, but only in thoſe few years, when they were led by *Epaminondas*, or *Pelopidas*. Yet this foggy Air, this Country of fat Weathers, as *Juvenal* calls it, produc'd three Wits, which were comparable to any three *Athenians*: *Pindar*, *Epaminondas*, and our *Plutarch*, to whom we may add a fourth, *Sextus Chæronenſis*, the Præceptor of the Learned Emperor *Marcus Aurelius*; and the Nephew of our Author.

Chæronea (if we may give credit to *Pauſanias*, in the ninth Book of his Deſcription of *Greece*) was antiently call'd *Arnè*, from *Arnè* the Daughter of *Æolus*; but being ſituated to the Weſt of *Parnaſſus* in that low-land Country, the natural unwholſomneſs of the Air was augmented by the Evening Vapours caſt upon it from that Mountain, which our late Travellers deſcribe to be full of moiſture and marſhy Ground inclos'd in the inequality of its Aſcents: And being alſo expos'd to the Winds which blew from that quarter, the Town was perpetually unhealthful; for which reaſon, ſays my Author, *Chæron*, the Son of *Apollo* and *Thero*, made it be re-built, and turn'd it towards

wards the riſing Sun: From whence the Town became healthful, and conſequently populous; in memory of which benefit, it afterwards retain'd his name. But as *Etymologies* are uncertain, and the *Greeks*, above all Nations, given to fabulous derivations of Names, eſpecially when they tend to the Honour of their Country, I think we may be reaſonably content to take the denomination of the Town, for its delightful or chearful ſtanding; as the word *Chæron* ſufficiently implies.

But to loſe no time in theſe Grammatical *Etymologies*, which are commonly uncertain gueſſes, 'tis agreed that *Plutarch* was here born; the year uncertain, but without diſpute in the Reign of *Claudius*.

Joh. Gerrard Voſſius has aſſign'd his Birth in the latter end of that Emperor: Some other Writers of his Life, have left it undecided, whether then, or in the beginning of *Nero*'s Empire: But the moſt accurate *Rualdus* (as I find it in the *Paris* Edition of *Plutarch*'s Works) has manifeſtly prov'd him to be born in the middle time of *Claudius*, or ſomewhat lower. For *Plutarch* in the Inſcription at *Delphos*, of which more hereafter, remembers that *Ammonius* his Maſter diſputed with him and his Brother *Lamprias* concerning it, when *Nero* made his Progreſs into *Greece*, which was in his twelfth year; and the Queſtion diſputed cou'd not be

be manag'd with ſo much learning as it was by mere Boys; therefore he was then ſixteen, or rather eighteen years of Age.

Xylander has obſerv'd, that *Plutarch* himſelf, in the Life of *Pericles*, and that of *Anthony*, has mention'd both *Nero*, and *Domitian*, as his Contemporaries. He has alſo left it on Record in his *Sympoſiaques*, that his Family was antient in *Chæronea*; and that for many Deſcents, they had born the moſt conſiderable Offices in that petty Commonwealth. The chiefeſt of which was known by the name of *Archon* amongſt the *Grecians*; by that of *Prætor Urbis* among the *Romans*; and the Dignity and Power was not much different from that of our Lord Mayor of *London*. His Great Grandfather *Nicarchus* perhaps injoy'd that Office in the diviſion of the Empire betwixt *Auguſtus Cæſar*, and *Mark Anthony*. And when the Civil Wars enſued betwixt them, *Chæronea* was ſo hardly us'd by *Anthony*'s Lieutenant, or Commiſſary there, that all the Citizens without exception, were ſervilely employ'd to carry on their ſhoulders a certain proportion of Corn from *Chæronea*, to the Coaſt over againſt the Iſland of *Antycira*, with the Scourge held over them, if at any time they were remiſs: Which Duty after once performing, being enjoin'd the ſecond time with the ſame ſeverity, juſt as they were preparing for their Journey,

Journey, the welcome News arriv'd, that *Mark Anthony* had loſt the Battle of *Actium*; whereupon both the Officers and Soldiers, belonging to him in *Chæronea*, immediately fled for their own ſafety; and the Proviſions thus collected, were diſtributed among the Inhabitants of the City.

This *Nicarchus*, the Great Grandfather of *Plutarch*, among other Sons, had *Lamprias*, a Man eminent for his Learning; and a Philoſopher, of whom *Plutarch* has made frequent mention in his *Sympoſiaques*, or *Table Converſations*; and amongſt the reſt, there is this Obſervation of him, that he diſputed beſt, and unravel'd the difficulties of Philoſophy with moſt ſucceſs when he was at Supper, and well warm'd with Wine. Theſe Table Entertainments were part of the Education of thoſe times, their Diſcourſes being commonly the Canvaſing and Solution of ſome Queſtion, either Philoſophical or Philological, always inſtructive, and uſually pleaſant: for the Cups went round with the Debate; and Men were merry and wiſe together, according to the Proverb. The Father of *Plutarch* is alſo mention'd in thoſe Diſcourſes, whom our Author repreſents as arguing of ſeveral points in Philoſophy; but his Name is no where to be found in any part of the Works remaining to us. But yet he ſpeaks of him, as a Man not ignorant in Learning and Poetry, as may

may appear by what he ſays, when he is introduc'd diſputing in the *Sympoſiaques*; where alſo his prudence and humanity are commended, in this following Relation. Being yet very young (ſays *Plutarch*) I was join'd in Commiſſion with another in an Embaſſy to the *Proconſul*, and my Collegue falling ſick was forc'd to ſtay behind, ſo that the whole buſineſs was tranſacted by me alone. At my return, when I was to give account to the Common-wealth of my Proceedings, my Father, riſing from his Seat, openly enjoin'd me not to name my ſelf in the ſingular number, *I did thus, or thus, I ſaid to the Proconſul; but thus we did, and thus we ſaid*, always aſſociating my Companion with me, tho abſent in the management: This was done to obſerve, as I ſuppoſe, the point of good manners with his Collegue, that of reſpect to the Government of the City, who had commiſſion'd both, to avoid envy, and perhaps more eſpecially to take off the forwardneſs of a pert young Miniſter, commonly too apt to over-value his own ſervice, and to quote himſelf on every inconſiderable occaſion. The Father of *Plutarch* had many Children beſides him; *Timon* and *Lamprias*, his Brothers, were bred up with him, all three inſtructed in the Liberal Sciences, and in all parts of Philoſophy. 'Tis manifeſt from our Author, that they liv'd together

in great Friendlineſs, and in great Veneration to their Grandfather, and Father. What Affection *Plutarch* bore in particular to his Brother *Timon*, may be gather'd from theſe words of his. As for my ſelf, tho Fortune on ſeveral occaſions has been favourable to me, I have no Obligation ſo great to her, as the Kindneſs and entire Friendſhip, which my Brother *Timon* has always born, and ſtill bears me: And this is ſo evident, that it cannot but be noted by every one of our Acquaintance. *Lampriaſ*, the youngeſt of the three, is introduc'd by him in his Morals, as one of a ſweet and pleaſant Converſation, inclin'd to Mirth and Rallery; or, as we ſay in *Engliſh*, a well humour'd Man, and a good Companion. The whole Family being thus addicted to Philoſophy, 'tis no wonder if our Author was initiated betimes in Study, to which he was naturally inclin'd. In purſuit of which he was ſo happy, to fall into good hands at firſt; being recommended to the care of *Ammonius* an *Egyptian*, who, having taught Philoſophy with great Reputation at *Alexandria*, and from thence travelling into *Greece*, ſettled himſelf at laſt in *Athens*, where he was well receiv'd, and generally reſpected. At the end of *Themiſtocles* his Life, *Plutarch* relates, that being young, he was a Penſioner in the Houſe of this *Ammonius*; and in his *Sympoſiaques* he brings

brings him in diſputing with his Scholars, and giving them Inſtruction. For the Cuſtom of thoſe times was very much different from theſe of ours, where the greateſt part of our Youth is ſpent in learning the words of dead Languages. The *Grecians*, who thought all *Barbarians* but themſelves, deſpis'd the uſe of Foreign Tongues; ſo that the firſt Elements of their breeding was the knowledg of Nature, and the accommodation of that knowledg by Moral Precepts, to the ſervice of the Publick, and the private Offices of Virtue. The Maſters imploying one part of their time in reading to, and diſcourſing with their Scholars; and the reſt, in appointing them their ſeveral Exerciſes, either in Oratory, or Philoſophy; and ſetting them to declaim and to diſpute amongſt themſelves. By this liberal ſort of Education, Study was ſo far from being a burden to them, that in a ſhort time it became a Habit; and Philoſophical Queſtions, and Criticiſms of humanity, were their uſual recreations at their Meals. Boys liv'd then as the better ſort of Men do now; and their Converſation was ſo well bred and Manly, that they did not plunge out of their depth into the World, when they grew up; but ſlid eaſily into it, and found no alteration in their Company. Amongſt the reſt, the Reading and Quotations of Poets were not forgotten at their Suppers, and

in their Walks; but *Homer*, *Euripides*, and *Sophocles*, were the Entertainment of their hours of freedom. Rods and Ferula's were not us'd by *Ammonius*, as being properly the puniſhment of Slaves, and not the Correction of ingenious Free-born Men. At leaſt to be only exercis'd by Parents, who had the power of Life and Death over their own Children. As appears by the Example of this *Ammonius*, thus related by our Author.

Our Maſter (ſays he) *one time perceiving at his Afternoon Lecture, that ſome of his Scholars had eaten more largely than became the moderation of Students, immediately commanded one of his Free Men to take his own Son, and ſcourge him in our ſight*; *becauſe*, ſaid the Philoſopher, *my young Gentleman cou'd not eat his Dinner without Poynant Sauce, or Vinegar*; *and at the ſame time he caſt his eye on all of us: So that every Criminal was given to underſtand, that he had a ſhare in the reprehenſion, and that the puniſhment was as well deſerv'd by all the reſt, had the Philoſopher not known, that it exceeded his Commiſſion to inflict it.*

Plutarch therefore having the aſſiſtance of ſuch a Maſter, in few years advanc'd to admiration in knowledg: And that without firſt travelling into Foreign Parts, or acquiring any Foreign Tongue; tho

tho the *Roman* Language at that time was not only vulgar in *Rome* it ſelf, but generally through the extent of that vaſt Empire, and in *Greece*, which was a Member of it, as our Author has remark'd towards the end of his *Platonick* Queſtions. For like a true Philoſopher, who minded things, not words, he ſtrove not even to cultivate his Mother Tongue with any great exactneſs. And himſelf confeſſes in the beginning of *Demoſthenes* his Life, that during his abode in *Italy*, and at *Rome*, he had neither the leiſure to ſtudy, not ſo much as to exerciſe the *Roman* Language, (I ſuppoſe he means to write in it, rather than to ſpeak it) as well by reaſon of the affairs he manag'd, as that he might acquit himſelf to thoſe who were deſirous to be inſtructed by him in Philoſophy. In ſo much, that till the declination of his Age, he began not to be converſant in Latin Books; in reading of which it happen'd ſomewhat oddly to him, that he learnt not the knowledg of things by words; but by the underſtanding and uſe he had of things, attain'd to the knowledg of words which ſignified them. Juſt as *Adam* (ſetting aſide Divine Illumination) call'd the Creatures by their proper Names, by firſt underſtanding their Natures. But for the delicacies of the Tongue, the turns of the Expreſſion, the Figures and Connexions of Words, in which conſiſt the Beauty

of that Language, he plainly tells us, that tho he much admir'd them, yet they requir'd too great labour for a Man in Age, and plung'd in Buſineſs, to attain perfectly. Which Complement I ſhould be willing to believe from a Philoſopher, if I did not conſider, that *Dion Caſſius*, nay even *Herodian* and *Appian* after him, as well as *Polybius* before him, by writing the *Roman* Hiſtory in the *Greek* Language, had ſhewn as manifeſt a contempt of Latin, in reſpect of the other, as *French* Men now do of *Engliſh*, which they diſdain to ſpeak while they live among us: But with great advantage to their trivial conceptions, drawing the diſcourſe into their own Language, have learnt to deſpiſe our better thoughts, which muſt come deform'd and lame in Converſation to them, as being tranſmitted in a Tongue of which we are not Maſters. This is to arrogate a Superiority in Nature over us, as undoubtedly the *Grecians* did over their Conquerours, by eſtabliſhing their Language for a Standard; it being become ſo much a mode to ſpeak and write *Greek* in *Tully*'s time, that with ſome indignation I have read his Epiſtles to *Atticus*, in which he deſires to have his own Conſulſhip written by his Friend in the *Grecian* Language, which he afterwards perform'd himſelf; a vain attempt in my opinion, for any Man to endeavour to excel in a Tongue which

he was not born to ſpeak. This, tho it be digreſſion, yet deſerves to be conſider'd at more leiſure; for the Honour of our Wit and Writings, which are of a more ſolid make than that of our Neighbours, is concern'd in it. But to return to *Plutarch*, as it was his good fortune to be moulded firſt by Maſters the moſt excellent in their kind, ſo it was his own Virtue, to ſuck in with an incredible deſire, and earneſt application of mind, their wiſe Inſtructions; and it was alſo his prudence ſo to manage his Health by moderation of diet and bodily exerciſe, as to preſerve his parts without decay to a great old Age; to be lively and vigorous to the laſt, and to preſerve himſelf to his own Enjoyments, and to the profit of Mankind. Which was not difficult for him to perform, having receiv'd from Nature a conſtitution capable of labour, and from the Domeſtick Example of his Parents, a ſparing ſobriety of diet, a temperance in other pleaſures, and above all, a Habitude of commanding his Paſſions in order to his Health. Thus principled and grounded, he conſider'd with himſelf, that a larger Communication with Learned Men was neceſſary for his accompliſhment; and therefore, having a Soul inſatiable of Knowledg, and being ambitious to excel in all kinds of Science, he took up a reſolution to Travel. *Egypt* was at that time, as formerly it had been, famous

mous for Learning; and probably the Myſteriouſneſs of their Doctrine might tempt him, as it had done *Pythagoras* and others, to converſe with the Prieſthood of that Country, which appears to have been particularly his buſineſs by the Treatiſe of *Iſis* and *Oſyris*, which he has left us. In which he ſhews himſelf not meanly vers'd in the Antient Theology and Philology of thoſe wiſe Men. From *Egypt* returning into *Greece*, he viſited in his way all the Academies, or Schools of the ſeveral Philoſophers, and gather'd from them many of thoſe Obſervations with which he has enrich'd Poſterity.

Beſides this, he apply'd himſelf, with extream diligence, to collect not only all Books which were excellent in their kind, and already publiſh'd, but alſo all Sayings and Diſcourſes of wiſe Men, which he had heard in Converſation, or which he had receiv'd from others by Tradition: as likewiſe the Records and publick Inſtruments, preſerv'd in Cities, which he had viſited in his Travels; and which he afterwards ſcatter'd through his Works. To which purpoſe he took a particular Journey to *Sparta*, to ſearch the Archives of that famous Commonwealth, to underſtand throughly the Model of their antient Government, their Legiſlators, their Kings, and their *Ephori*, digeſting all their memorable Deeds and Sayings

ings with ſo much care, that he has not omitted thoſe even of their Women, or their private Soldiers; together with their Cuſtoms, their Decrees, their Ceremonies, and the manner of their publick and private living, both in Peace and War. The ſame methods he alſo took in divers other Commonwealths, as his Lives, and his *Greek* and *Roman* Queſtions ſufficiently teſtify. Without theſe helps it had been impoſſible for him to leave in writing ſo many particular Obſervations of Men and Manners, and as impoſſible to have gather'd them, without Converſation and Commerce with the learned Antiquaries of his time. To theſe he added a curious Collection of Antient Statues, Medals, Inſcriptions, and Paintings, as alſo of Proverbial Sayings, Epigrams, Epitaphs, Apothegms, and other Ornaments of Hiſtory, that he might leave nothing unſwept behind him. And as he was continually in company with Men of Learning in all profeſſions, ſo his Memory was always on the ſtretch, to receive and lodg their Diſcourſes; and his Judgment perpetually employ'd in ſeparating his Notions, and diſtinguiſhing which were fit to be preſerv'd, and which to be rejected.

By benefit of this, in little time he inlarg'd his knowledg to a great extent in every Science: Himſelf, in the beginning of the Treatiſe which he has compos'd of *Con-*

tent and Peace of mind, makes mention of thoſe Collections, or Common places, which he had long ſince drawn together for his own particular occaſions: And 'tis from this rich Cabinet that he has taken out thoſe excellent pieces which he has diſtributed to Poſterity, and which give us occaſion to deplore the loſs of the reſidue, which either the injury of Time, or the negligence of Copiers have denied to us. On this account, tho we need not doubt to give him this general commendation, that he was ignorant of no ſort of learning, yet we may juſtly add this farther, that whoever will conſider through the whole body of his Works, either the deſign, the method, or the contexture of his Diſcourſes, whether Hiſtorical or Moral, or Queſtions of natural Philoſophy, or Solutions of Problems Mathematical; whether he arraigns the Opinions of other Sects, or eſtabliſhes the Doctrins of his own: in all theſe kinds there will be found, both the harmony of order, and the beauty of eaſineſs; his reaſons ſo ſolid and convincing, his inductions ſo pleaſant and agreeable to all ſorts of Readers, that it muſt be acknowledg'd he was Maſter of every Subject which he treated, and treated none but what were improveable to the benefit of Inſtruction. For we may perceive in his Writing, the deſire he had to imprint his Precepts in the Souls of his

his Readers; and to lodg Morality in Families, nay even to exalt it to the Thrones of Sovereign Princes, and to make it the Rule and Meaſure of their Government. Finding that there were many Sects of Philoſophers then in vogue, he ſearch'd into the foundation of all their Principles and Opinions; and not content with this diſquiſition, he trac'd them to their ſeveral Fountains. So that the *Pythagorean*, *Epicurean*, *Stoick*, and *Peripatetick* Philoſophy, were familiar to him. And tho it may be eaſily obſerv'd, that he was chiefly inclin'd to follow *Plato* (whoſe Memory he ſo much reverenc'd, that annually he celebrated his Birth-Day, and alſo that of *Socrates*;) yet he modeſtly contain'd himſelf within the bounds of the latter Academy, and was content, like *Cicero*, only to propound and weigh Opinions, leaving the Judgment of his Readers free, without preſuming to decide dogmatically. Yet it is to be confeſs'd, that in the midſt of this moderation, he oppos'd the two extreams of the *Epicurean* and *Stoick* Sects: Both of which he has judiciouſly combated in ſeveral of his Treatiſes, and both upon the ſame account, becauſe they pretend too much to certainty in their Dogma's, and to impoſe them with too great arrogance; which he, who (following the Academiſts) doubted more and pretended leſs, was no way able to ſupport.

The *Pyrrhonians*, or groſſer ſort of *Sceptick*s, who bring all Certainty in queſtion, and ſtartle even at the notions of Common ſenſe, appear'd as abſurd to him on the other ſide; for there is a kind of poſitiveneſs in granting nothing to be more likely on one part than on another, which his Academy avoided by inclining the ballance to that hand, where the moſt weighty reaſons, and probability of truth were viſible. The Moral Philoſophy therefore was his chiefeſt aim, becauſe the Principles of it admitted of leſs doubt; and becauſe they were moſt conducing to the benefit of Human Life. For, after the example of *Socrates*, he had found, that the ſpeculations of Natural Philoſophy were rather delightful than ſolid and profitable; that they were abſtruſe and thorny, and had much of *Sophiſm* in the ſolution of appearances: That the Mathematicks indeed could reward his pains with many demonſtrations; but tho they made him wiſer, they made him not more virtuous, and therefore attain'd not the end of Happineſs: For which reaſon, tho he had far advanc'd in that Study, yet he made it but his recreation, not his buſineſs. Some Problem of it was his uſual divertiſement at Supper, which he mingled alſo with pleaſant and more light diſcourſes. For he was no ſour Philoſopher, but paſt his time as merrily as he cou'd, with reference to Virtue:

Virtue: He forgot not to be pleaſant while he inſtructed; and entertain'd his Friends with ſo much chearfulneſs and good humour, that his Learning was not nauſeous to them; neither were they afraid of his Company another time. He was not ſo auſtere as to deſpiſe Riches, but being in poſſeſſion of a large Fortune, he liv'd, tho not ſplendidly, yet plentifully; and ſuffer'd not his Friends to want that part of his Eſtate, which he thought ſuperfluous to a Philoſopher.

The Religion he profeſs'd, to ſpeak the worſe of it, was Heathen. I ſay the Religion he profeſs'd; for 'tis no way probable, that ſo great a Philoſopher, and ſo wiſe a Man, ſhould believe the Superſtitions and Fopperies of *Paganiſm:* but that he accommodated himſelf to the Uſe, and receiv'd Cuſtoms of his Country. He was indeed a *Prieſt of Apollo*, as himſelf acknowledges, but that proves him not to have been a *Polytheiſt*.

I have ever thought, that the Wiſe-men in all Ages have not much differ'd in their Opinions of Religion; I mean as 'tis grounded on human Reaſon. For Reaſon, as far as it is right, muſt be the ſame in all Men: And Truth being but one, they muſt conſequently think in the ſame Train. Thus it is not to be doubted, but the Religion of *Socrates*, *Plato* and *Plutarch*, was not different

rent in the main: Who doubtleſs believ'd the identity of one Supream Intellectual Being, which we call GOD. But becauſe they who have written the Life of *Plutarch* in other Languages, are contented barely to aſſert, that our Author believ'd one God, without quoting thoſe paſſages of his which wou'd clear the point; I will give you two of them, amongſt many, in his *Morals*. The firſt is in his Book of the *Ceſſation of Oracles*; where arguing againſt the *Stoicks* (in behalf of the *Platoniſts*) who diſputed againſt the plurality of Worlds with this Argument: *That if there were many Worlds, how then cou'd it come to paſs, that there was one only Fate, and one Providence to guide them all? (for it was granted by the* Platoniſts, *that there was but one:) And why ſhould not many* Jupiters *or* Gods *be neceſſary for the Government of many Worlds?* To this *Plutarch* anſwers, *That this their capacious queſtion was but trifling; For where is the neceſſity of ſuppoſing many* Jupiters, *for this Plurality of Worlds? when one excellent Being, indued with Mind and Reaſon, ſuch as he is, whom we acknowledg to be the Father and Lord of all things, is ſufficient to direct aud rule theſe Worlds; whereas if there were more Supream Agents, their Decrees muſt ſtill be the more abſurd and contradictious to one another.* I pretend not this Paſſage to be tranſlated word for word, but 'tis the Senſe of the whole, tho the order

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of the Sentence be inverted. The other is more plain: 'Tis in his Comment on the Word EI, or thoſe two Letters inſcrib'd on the Gates of the Temple at *Delphos*. Where having given the ſeveral opinions concerning it, as firſt, that εἰ ſignifies *if*, becauſe all the queſtions which were made to *Apollo* began with *if*; as ſuppoſe they ask'd, *if* the *Grecians* ſhould overcome the *Perſians*; *if* ſuch a Marriage ſhould come to paſs, *&c.* And afterwards, that εἰ might ſignify *thou art*, as the ſecond Perſon of the preſent Tenſe of εἰμι, intimating thereby the being or perpetuity of Being belonging to *Apollo*, as a God; in the ſame ſenſe that God expreſs'd himſelf to *Moſes*, *I am hath ſent thee*; *Plutarch* ſubjoyns (as inclining to this latter opinion) theſe following words: εἰ ἐν, ſays he, *ſignifies Thou art One, for there are not many Deities, but only one.* Continues, *I mean not one in the aggregate ſenſe, as we ſay one Army, or one Body of Men, conſtituted of many individuals; but that which is, muſt of neceſſity be One; and to be, implies to be One. One is that which is a ſimple Being, uncompounded, or free from mixture: Therefore to be One in this ſenſe, is only conſiſtent with a Nature, pure in it ſelf, and not capable of alteration, or decay.*

That he was no Chriſtian is manifeſt: Yet he is no where found to have ſpoken with Contumely of our Religion, like the other

other Writers of his Age, and thoſe who ſucceeded him. *Theodoret* ſays of him, *That he had heard of our Holy Goſpel; and inſerted many of our Sacred Myſteries in his Works:* which we may eaſily believe, becauſe the Chriſtian Churches were then ſpread in *Greece*; and *Pliny the Younger* was at the ſame time converſant amongſt them in *Aſia*, tho that part of our Author's Works is not now extant, from whence *Theodoret* might gather thoſe Paſſages. But we need not wonder, that a Philoſopher was not eaſy to embrace the Divine Myſteries of our Faith. A modern God, as our *Saviour* was to him, was of hard digeſtion to a Man, who probably deſpis'd the vanities and fabulous Relations of all the old. Beſides a crucify'd Saviour of Mankind, a Doctrine atteſted by illiterate Diſciples, the Author of it a *Jew*, whoſe Nation at that time was deſpicable, and his Doctrine but an innovation among that deſpis'd People, to which the Learned of his own Country gave no Credit, and which the Magiſtrates of his Nation puniſh'd with an ignominious death; the Scene of his Miracles acted in an obſcure Corner of the World; his being from Eternity, yet born in time, his Reſurrection and Aſcenſion, theſe and many more particulars might eaſily choke the Faith of a Philoſopher, who believ'd no more than what he cou'd deduce from the Principles of Nature;

ture; and that too with a doubtful Academical aſſent, or rather an inclination to aſſent to probability: which he judg'd was wanting in this new Religion. Theſe circumſtances conſider'd, tho they plead not an abſolute invincible ignorance in his behalf, yet they amount at leaſt to a degree of it; for either he thought them not worth weighing, or rejected them when weigh'd; and in both caſes he muſt of neceſſity be ignorant, becauſe he cou'd not know without Revelation, and the Revelation was not to him. But leaving the Soul of *Plutarch*, with our charitable Wiſhes, to his Maker, we can only trace the reſt of his Opinions in Religion from his Philoſophy: Which we have ſaid in the general to be *Platonick*; tho it cannot alſo be denied, that there was a Tincture in it of the *Electick* Sect; which was begun by *Potamon* under the Empire of *Auguſtus*, and which ſelected from all the other Sects, what ſeem'd moſt probable in their Opinions, not adhering ſingularly to any of them, nor rejecting every thing. I will only touch his belief of Spirits. In his two Treatiſes of Oracles, the one concerning the reaſon of their Ceſſation, the other enquiring why they were not given in Verſe, as in former times; he ſeems to aſſert the *Pythagorean* Doctrine of Tranſmigration of Souls. We have formerly ſhewn, that he own'd the Unity of a Godhead; whom, according

cording to his Attributes, he calls by ſeveral names, as *Jupiter* from his Almighty Power, *Apollo* from his Wiſdom, and ſo of the reſt; but under him he places thoſe Beings whom he ſtiles *Genii*, or *Dæmons*, of a middle nature, betwixt Divine and Human. For he thinks it abſurd, that there ſhou'd be no mean betwixt the two extreams, of an Immortal and a Mortal Being: That there cannot be in Nature ſo vaſt a flaw, without ſome intermedial kind or life, partaking of them both; as therefore we find the intercourſe betwixt the Soul and Body, to be made by the Animal Spirits, ſo betwixt Divinity and Humanity there is the ſpecies of *Dæmons*: Who, having firſt been Men, and following the ſtrict Rules of Virtue, had purg'd off the groſſneſs and fæculency of their Earthly Being, are exalted into theſe *Genii*, and are from thence either rais'd higher into an Ætherial Life, if they ſtill continue virtuous, or tumbled down again into Mortal Bodies, and ſinking into fleſh after they have loſt that Purity, which conſtituted their glorious Being. And this ſort of *Genii* are thoſe, who, as our Author imagines, preſided over Oracles: Spirits which have ſo much of their terreſtrial Principles remaining in them, as to be ſubject to paſſions and inclinations, uſually Beneficent, ſometimes Malevolent to Mankind, accord-

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ing as they refine themſelves, or gather droſs, and are declining into Mortal Bodies. The Ceſſation, or rather the Decreaſe of Oracles, (for ſome of them were ſtill remaining in *Plutarch*'s time) he attributes either to the death of thoſe *Dæmons*, as appears by the ſtory of the *Egyptian Thamus*, who was commanded to declare, that the great God *Pan* was dead, or to their forſaking of thoſe places, where they formerly gave out their Oracles; from whence they were driven by ſtronger *Genii*, into baniſhment for a certain Revolution of Ages. Of this laſt nature was the War of the Giants againſt the Gods, the diſpoſſeſſion of *Saturn* by *Jupiter*, the baniſhment of *Apollo* from Heaven, the fall of *Vulcan*, and many others; all which, according to our Author, were the Battles of theſe *Genii* or *Dæmons*, amongſt themſelves. But ſuppoſing, as *Plutarch* evidently does, that theſe Spirits adminiſter'd, under the Supream Being, the affairs of Men, taking care of the Virtuous, puniſhing the Bad, and ſometimes communicating with the beſt; as particularly, the Genius of *Socrates* always warn'd him of approaching dangers, and taught him to avoid them.

I cannot but wonder, that every one who has hitherto written *Plutarch's Life*, and particularly *Rualdus*, the moſt knowing of them all, ſhould ſo confidently affirm, that

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theſe Oracles were given by bad Spirits, according to *Plutarch*: As Chriſtians, indeed we may think them ſo; but that *Plutarch* ſo thought, is a moſt apparent falſhood: 'Tis enough to convince a reaſonable Man, that our Author in his old Age, (and that then he doted not, we may ſee by the Treatiſe he has written, that old Men ought to have the management of Publick Affairs) I ſay, that then he initiated himſelf in the Sacred Rites of *Delphos*; and died, for ought we know, *Apollo*'s *Prieſt*. Now it is not to be imagin'd, that he thought the *God* he ſerv'd a *Cacodæmon*, or as we call him a *Devil*. Nothing cou'd be farther from the opinion and practice of this holy Philoſopher than ſo groſs an impiety. The Story of the *Pythias*, or *Prieſteſs* of *Apollo*, which he relates immediatly before the ending of that Treatiſe, concerning the Ceſſation of Oracles, confirms my Aſſertion rather than ſhakes it: For 'tis there deliver'd, "That going with great reluctancy into the "Sacred Place to be inſpir'd, ſhe came out "foaming at the Mouth, her Eyes gogling, "her Breaſt heaving, her Voice undiſtin-"guiſhable and ſhrill, as if ſhe had an Earth-"quake within her, labouring for vent; "and in ſhort, that thus tormented with "the God, whom ſhe was not able to ſup-"port, ſhe died diſtracted in few days af-"ter. For he had ſaid before, that the De-

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" vinereſs ought to have no perturbations " of mind, or impure paſſions at the time " when ſhe was to conſult the Oracle; and " if ſhe had, ſhe was no more fit to be in- " ſpir'd, than an Inſtrument untun'd, to " render an harmonious Sound: And he gives us to ſuſpect, by what he ſays at the cloſe of this Relation, " That this *Pythias* " had not liv'd chaſtly for ſome time before " it. So that her death appears more like a " puniſhment inflicted for looſe living by " ſome holy power, than the mere malig- " nancy of a Spirit delighted naturally in " miſchief. There is another Obſervation which indeed comes nearer to their pur- poſe, which I will digreſs ſo far as to re- late, becauſe it ſomewhat appertains to our own Country: " There are many Iſlands " *(ſays he)* which lie ſcatter'd about *Bri-* " *tain*, after the manner of our *Sporades:* " They are unpeopled, and ſome of them " are call'd the Iſlands of the Heroes, or the " *Genii.* One *Demetrius* was ſent by the Emperor, (who by computation of the time muſt either be *Caligula*, or *Claudius)* to diſcover thoſe parts, and arriving at one of the Iſlands next adjoining to the fore- mention'd, which was inhabited by ſome few *Britains*, (but thoſe held ſacred and in- violable by all their Country-men,) imme- diately after his arrival, the air grew black and troubled, ſtrange Apparitions were

ſeen, the Winds rais'd a Tempeſt, and fiery Spouts or Whirlwinds appear'd dancing towards the Earth. When theſe Prodigies were ceas'd, the Iſlanders inform'd him, that ſome one of the aerial Beings, ſuperiour to our Nature, then ceas'd to live. For as a Taper, while yet burning, affords a pleaſant harmleſs light, but is noiſome and offenſive when extinguiſht, ſo thoſe Hero's ſhine benignly on us, and do us good, but at their death turn all things topſy turvy, raiſe up Tempeſts, and infect the air with peſtilential Vapours. By thoſe holy and inviolable men, there is no queſtion but he means our *Druydes*, who are neareſt to the *Pythagoreans* of any Sect; and this opinion of the *Genii* might probably be one of theirs: Yet it proves not that all *Dæmons* were thus malicious; only thoſe who were to be condemn'd hereafter into human bodies, for their miſdemeanors in their aerial Being. But 'tis time to leave a ſubject, ſo very fanciful, and ſo little reaſonable as this: I am apt to imagine the natural vapours ariſing in the Cave where the Temple afterwards was built, might work upon the Spirits of thoſe who enter'd the holy place, as they did on the Shepherd *Coreſus*, who firſt found it out by accident; and encline them to *Enthuſiaſm* and prophetick Madneſs. That as the ſtrength of thoſe Vapours diminiſh'd, (which were generally in Caverns,

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as that of *Mopſas*, of *Trophonius*, and this of *Delphos*) ſo the Inſpiration decreas'd by the ſame meaſures: That they happen'd to be ſtronger, when they kill'd the *Pythias*, who being conſcious of this, was ſo unwilling to enter. That the Oracles ceas'd to be given in Verſe, when Poets ceas'd to be the Prieſts; and that the Genius of *Socrates* (whom he confeſs'd never to have ſeen, but only to have heard inwardly, and unperceiv'd by others) was no more than the ſtrength of his imagination; or to ſpeak in the Language of a Chriſtian *Platoniſt*, his Guardian Angel.

I pretend not to an exactneſs of method in this Life, which I am forc'd to collect by patches from ſeveral Authors; and therefore without much regard to the connection of times which are ſo uncertain.

I will in the next place ſpeak of his Marriage. His Wife's name, her Parentage, and Dowry, are no where mention'd by him, or any other, nor in what part of his Age he married; tho 'tis probable, in the flower of it: But *Rualdus* has ingeniouſly gather'd, from a convincing circumſtance, that ſhe was called *Timoxena*: Becauſe *Plutarch*, in a Conſolatory Letter to her, occaſion'd by the Death of their Daughter in her Infancy, uſes theſe words: *Your* Timoxena *is depriv'd (by death) of ſmall enjoyments; for the things ſhe knew were of ſmall moment,*

and ſhe cou'd be delighted only with trifles. Now it appears by the Letter, that the Name of this Daughter was the ſame with her Mother's, therefore it cou'd be no other than *Timoxena.* Her Knowledg, her conjugal Virtues, her Abhorrency from the Vanities of her Sex, and from Superſtition, her Gravity in Behaviour, and her Conſtancy in ſupporting the loſs of Children, are likewiſe celebrated by our Author. No other Wife of *Plutarch* is found mention'd; and therefore we may conclude he had no more: By the ſame reaſon for which we judge, that he had no other Maſter than *Ammonius*, becauſe 'tis evident he was ſo grateful in his Nature, that he would have preſerv'd their Memory.

The number of his Children was at leaſt five; ſo many being mention'd by him. Four of them were Sons; of the other Sex only *Timoxena*, who died at two years old, as is manifeſt from the Epiſtle abovemention'd. The *French* Tranſlator *Amiot*, from whom our old *Engliſh* Tranſlation of the Lives was made, ſuppoſes him to have had another Daughter, where he ſpeaks of his Son-in-Law *Crato.* But the word γαμβρὸς, which *Plutarch* there uſes, is of a large ſignification; for it may as well be expounded Father-in-Law, his Wife's Brother, or his Siſter's Husband, as *Budæus* notes: This I the rather mention, becauſe the ſame *Amiot*

is task'd for an infinite number of miſtakes, by his own Countrymen of the preſent Age; which is enough to recommend this Tranſlation of our Author into the *Engliſh* Tongue, being not from any Copy, but from the *Greek* Original. Two other Sons of *Plutarch* were already deceas'd, before *Timoxena*. His eldeſt *Autobulus*, mention'd in his *Sympoſiaques*, and another whoſe Name is not recorded. The youngeſt was called *Charon*, who alſo died in his Infancy: The two remaining are ſuppos'd to have ſurviv'd him. The Name of one was *Plutarch*, after his own; and that of the other *Lamprias*, ſo call'd in memory of his Grandfather. This was he, of all his Children, who ſeems to have inherited his Father's Philoſophy: And to him we owe the Table or Catalogue of *Plutarch*'s Writings, and perhaps alſo the *Apothegms*. His Nephew, but whether by his Brother or Siſter remains uncertain, was *Sextus Chæroneus*, who was much honour'd by that Learned Emperor *Marcus Aurelius*, and who taught him the *Greek* Tongue, and the Principles of Philoſophy: This Emperor profeſſing *Stoiciſm*, (as appears by his Writings) inclines us to believe, that our *Sextus Chæroneus* was of the *Stoick* Sect; and conſequently, that the World has generally been miſtaken, in ſuppoſing him to have been the ſame Man with *Sextus Empiricus* the *Sceptick*; whom *Suidas* plainly tells

us to have been an *African*: Now *Empiricus* cou'd not but be a *Sceptick*, for he oppoſes all Dogmatiſts, and particularly them. But I heard it firſt obſerv'd by an Ingenious and Learned old Gentleman lately deceas'd, that many of Mr. *Hobbs* his ſeeming new Opinions, are gather'd from thoſe which *Sextus Empiricus* expos'd. The Book is extant, and I refer the curious to it, not pretending to arraign, or to excuſe him. Some think the famous Critick *Longinus* was of *Plutarch*'s Family, deſcended from a Siſter of his; but the proofs are ſo weak, that I will not inſert them: They may both of them rely on their proper merits; and ſtand not in want of a Relation to each other. 'Tis needleſs to inſiſt on his Behaviour in his Family: His Love to his Wife, his Indulgence to his Children, his Care of their Education, are all manifeſt in that part of his Works which is call'd his Morals. Other parts of his Diſpoſition have been touch'd already; as that he was courteous and humane to all Men; free from inconſtancy, anger, and the deſire of revenge: which qualities of his, as they have been prais'd by the Authority of other Writers, may alſo be recommended from his own Teſtimony of himſelf. *I had rather*, ſays he, *be forgotten in the memory of Men, and that it ſhou'd be ſaid, there neither is, nor was a Man call'd* Plutarch, *than that they ſhould report, this* Plutarch

tarch *was unconſtant, changeable in his temper, prone to anger and revenge on the leaſt occaſion.* What he was to his Slaves you may believe from this, that in general he accuſes thoſe Maſters of extream hardneſs and injuſtice, who uſe Men like Oxen; ſell them in their age when they can drudg no longer. *A Man,* ſays he, *of a merciful diſpoſition, ought not to retrench the fodder from his Cattle, nor the Provender from his Horſes when they can work no longer, but to cheriſh them when worn out and old.* Yet *Plutarch,* tho he knew how to moderate his anger, was not, on the contrary, ſubject to an inſenſibility of wrongs; not ſo remiſs in exacting duty, or ſo tame in ſuffering the diſobedience of his Servants, that he cou'd not correct when they deſerv'd it: As is manifeſt from the following ſtory, which *Aulius Gellius* had from the mouth of *Taurus* the Philoſopher concerning him. Plutarch *had a certain Slave, a ſaucy ſtubborn kind of Fellow; in a word, one of thoſe pragmatical Servants, who never make a fault, but they give a reaſon for it: his juſtifications one time wou'd not ſerve his turn, but his Maſter commanded him to be ſtrip'd; and that the Law ſhould be laid on his backſide. He no ſooner felt the ſmart, but he mutter'd that he was unjuſtly puniſh'd, and that he had done nothing to deſerve the Scourge. At laſt he began to bawl out louder; and, leaving off his groaning, his ſighs and his lamentations, to*

argue the matter with more ſhew of Reaſon: And as, under ſuch a Maſter, he muſt needs have gain'd a ſmattering of Learning, he cry'd out, that Plutarch *was not the Philoſopher he pretended himſelf to be, that he had heard him waging War againſt all the paſſions; and maintaining that Anger was unbecoming a wiſe Man: Nay, that he had written a particular Treatiſe, in commendation of Clemency. That therefore he contradicted his Precepts by his Practices; ſince abandoning himſelf over to his Choler, he exercis'd ſuch inhuman cruelty on the body of his Fellow-Creature. How's this,* (Mr. *Varlet*) anſwer'd *Plutarch, by what ſigns and tokens can you prove I am in paſſion? Is it by my Countenance, my Voice, the colour of my Face, by my Words, or by my Geſtures, that you have diſcover'd this my Fury? I am not of opinion, that my Eyes ſparkle, that I foam at Mouth, that I gnaſh my Teeth, or that my Voice is more vehement, or that my Colour is either more pale, or more red than at other times; that I either ſhake or ſtamp with madneſs, that I ſay or do any thing unbecoming a Philoſopher: Theſe, if you know them not, are the Symptoms of a Man in rage: in the mean time (turning to the Officer who ſcourg'd him) while he and I diſpute this matter, mind you your buſineſs on his back.*

His love to his Friends and his gratitude to his Benefactors are every where obſervable, in his Dedications of his ſeveral Works, and

and the particular Treatiſes he has written to them on ſeveral occaſions, are all ſutable either to the Characters of the Men, or to their preſent Condition, and the Circumſtances under which they were. His love to his Country is from hence conſpicuous, that he profeſſes to have written the Life of *Lucullus*, and to have preſerv'd the memory of his Actions, becauſe of the favours he confer'd on the City of *Chæronea*; which tho his Country receiv'd ſo long before, yet he thought it appertain'd to him to repay them, and took an intereſt in their acknowledgment. As alſo, that he vindicated the *Bæotians* from the Calumnies of *Herodotus* the Hiſtorian, in his Book concerning the malignity of that Author. In which 'tis obſervable, that his zeal to his Country tranſported him too far; for *Herodotus* had ſaid no more of them than what was generally held to be true in all Ages, concerning the groſsneſs of their wits, their voracity, and thoſe other national Vices, which we have already noted on this account; therefore *Petrarch* has accus'd our Author of the ſame malignity, for which he tax'd *Herodotus*: But they may both ſtand acquitted on different accounts: *Herodotus* for having given a true Character of the *Thebans*, and *Plutarch* for endeavouring to palliate the Vices of a People from whom he was deſcended. The reſt of his Manners, without entering into

into particulars, were unblamable, if we excuſe a little proneneſs to Superſtition; and regulating his Actions by his Dreams. But how far this will bear an accuſation I determine not, tho *Tully* has endeavour'd to ſhew the vanity of Dreams, in his Treatiſe of *Divinations*, whither I refer the curious.

On what occaſion he repair'd to *Rome*, at what time of his Age he came thither, how long he dwelt there, how often he was there, and in what year he return'd to his own Country, are all uncertain: This we know, That when *Nero* was in *Greece*, which was in his eleventh and twelfth years, our Author was at *Delphos*, under *Ammonius*, his Maſter; as appears by the diſputation then manag'd, concerning the Inſcription of the two Letters E. I. *Nero* not living long afterwards, 'tis almoſt indiſputable, that he came not to *Rome* in all his Reign. 'Tis improbable, that he wou'd undertake the Voyage during the troubleſome times of *Galba*, *Otho* and *Vitellius*; and we are not certain, that he liv'd in *Rome* in the Empire of *Veſpaſian*: Yet we may gueſs, that the mildneſs of this Emperor's Dominion, his Fame, and the Virtues of his Son *Titus*, aſſum'd into the Empire afterwards by his Father, might induce *Plutarch*, amongſt other conſiderations, to take this Journey in his time. 'Tis argu'd from the following

following ſtory, related by himſelf, that he was at *Rome*, either in the joint Reign of the two *Veſpaſians*, or at leaſt in that of the Survivor *Titus*. He ſays then, in his laſt Book concerning *Curioſity*: " Reaſoning, " or rather reading once at *Rome*, *Arulenus* " *Ruſticus*, the ſame Man whom after- " wards *Domitian* put to Death out of envy " to his Glory, ſtood hearkning to me a- " mongſt my Auditors: It ſo happen'd, " that a Soldier, having Letters for him " from the Emperor, (who was either *Titus*, or his Father *Veſpaſian*, as *Rualdus* thinks) " broke thro the crowd, to de- " liver him thoſe Letters from the Empe- " ror. Obſerving this, I made a pauſe in " my diſſertation, that *Ruſticus* might have " the leiſure to read the Mandate which was " ſent him; but he abſolutely refus'd to do " it, neither wou'd he be intreated to break " the Seals till I had wholly made an end of " my Speech, and diſmiſs'd the Company. Now I ſuppoſe the ſtreſs of the Argument, to prove that this Emperor was not *Domitian*, lies only in this Clauſe (*whom* Domitian *afterwards put to death:*) but I think it rather leaves it doubtful, for they might be *Domitian*'s Letters which he then receiv'd, and conſequently he might not come to *Rome* till the Reign of that Emperor. This *Ruſticus* was not only a learned but a good Man: He had been *Tribune* of the

the people under *Nero*, was *Prætor* in the time of *Vitellius*, and ſent Ambaſſador to the Forces, rais'd under the Name of *Veſpaſian*, to perſuade them to a Peace. What Offices he bore afterwards we know not, but the cauſe of his death, beſides the envy of *Domitian* to his Fame, was a certain Book, or ſome Commentaries of his, wherein he had prais'd too much the Sanctity of *Thraſea Pætus* whom *Nero* had murder'd: And the praiſe of a good Citizen was inſupportable to the Tyrant; being, I ſuppoſe, exaſperated farther by ſome reflections of *Ruſticus*, who could not commend *Thraſea*, but at the ſame time he muſt inveigh againſt the Oppreſſor of the *Roman* Liberty. That *Plutarch* was married in his own Country, and that before he came to *Rome*, is probable; that the Fame of him was come before him, by reaſon of ſome part of his Works already publiſh'd, is alſo credible, becauſe he had ſo great reſort of the *Roman* Nobility, to hear him read immediately, as we believe, upon his coming: That he was invited thither by the correſpondence he had with *Soſſius Senecio*, might be one reaſon of his undertaking that Journey, is almoſt undeniable. It likewiſe appears he was divers times at *Rome*; and perhaps, before he came to inhabit there, might make acquaintance with this worthy Man *Senecio*, to whom he Dedicated almoſt all theſe Lives

of *Greeks* and *Romans*. I ſay almoſt all, becauſe one of them, namely, that of *Aratus*, is inſcrib'd in moſt expreſs Words to *Polycrates* the *Sicyonian*, the great Grandſon of the ſaid *Aratus*. This worthy Patron and Friend of *Plutarch*, *Senecio*, was four times Conſul; the firſt time in the ſhort Reign of *Cocceius Nerva*, a Virtuous and a Learned Emperor; which opinion I rather follow than that of *Aurelius Caſſiodorus*, who puts back his Conſulſhip into the laſt of *Domitian*, becauſe it is not probable, that vicious Tyrant ſhould exalt to that Dignity a Man of Virtue. This year falls in with the year of Chriſt ninety nine.

But the great inducement of our Author to this Journey, was certainly the deſire he had to lay in materials for his *Roman* Lives; that was the deſign which he had form'd early, and on which he had reſolv'd to build his Fame. Accordingly we have obſerv'd that he had travell'd over *Greece* to peruſe the Archives of every City; that he might be able to write properly, not only the Lives of his *Grecian Worthies*, but the Laws, the Cuſtoms, the Rites and Ceremonies of every place. Which that he might treat with the ſame Maſtery of skill, when he came to draw his *Parallels* of the *Romans*, he took the invitation of his Friends, and particularly of our *Soſſius Senecio*, to viſit this Miſtreſs of the World, this imperial City

of

of *Rome*; and, by the favour of many great and learned men then living, to ſearch the Records of the Capitol, and the Libraries, which might furniſh him with Inſtruments for ſo noble an undertaking. But that this may not ſeem to be my own bare Opinion, or that of any modern Author whom I follow, *Plutarch* himſelf has deliver'd it as his motive, in the life of *Demoſthenes*: The words are theſe, "Whoſoever "deſigns to write a Hiſtory, (which 'tis "impoſſible to form to any excellency from "thoſe materials that are ready at hand, or "to take from common report, while he "ſits lazily at home in his own Study, but "muſt of neceſſity be gather'd from Foreign "Obſervations, and the ſcatter'd Writings of "various Authors) it concerns him to take "up his Habitation in ſome renown'd and "populous City, where he may command "all ſorts of Books, and be acquainted alſo "with ſuch particulars as have eſcap'd the "Pens of Writers, and are only extant in "the memories of Men. Let him inquire "diligently, and weigh judiciouſly, what "he hears and reads, leſt he publiſh a lame "Work, and be deſtitute of thoſe helps "which are requir'd to its perfection. 'Tis then moſt probable, that he paſs'd his days at *Rome*, either in reading Philoſophy of all kinds to the *Roman* Nobility, who frequented his Houſe, and heard him, as if there

there were ſomewhat more than human in his words; and his Nights (which were his only hours of private Study) in ſearching and examining Records concerning *Rome*. Not but that he was intruſted alſo with the management of publick Affairs in the Empire, during his reſidence in the Metropolis: Which may be made out by what *Suidas* relates of him. *Plutarch* (ſays he) *liv'd in the time of* Trajan, *and alſo before his Reign: That Emperor beſtow'd on him the Dignity of Conſul*, (tho the *Greek*, I ſuppoſe, will bear, that he made him Conſul with himſelf, at leaſt transfer'd that honour on him:) *An Edict was alſo made in favour of him, That the Magiſtrates or Officers of* Illyria *ſhould do nothing in that Province without the knowledg and approbation of* Plutarch. Now 'tis my particular gueſs (for I have not read it any where) that *Plutarch* had the affairs of *Illyria* (now called *Sclavonia*) recommended to him; becauſe *Trajan*, we know, had Wars on that ſide the Empire, with *Decebalus* King of *Dacia*; after whoſe defeat and death, the Province of *Illyria* might ſtand in need of *Plutarch*'s Wiſdom to compoſe and civilize it. But this is only hinted, as what poſſibly might be the reaſon of our Philoſopher's ſuperintendency in thoſe quarters; which the *French* Author of his Life ſeems to wonder at, as having no relation either to *Chæronea* or *Greece*.

When

When he was firſt made known to *Trajan*, is like the reſt uncertain, or by what means, whether by *Senecio*, or any other, he was introduc'd to his acquaintance: But 'tis moſt likely, that *Trajan*, then a private Man, was one of his Auditors, amongſt others of the Nobility of *Rome*. 'Tis alſo thought, this wiſe Emperor made uſe of him in all his Counſels, and that the happineſs which attended him in his undertakings, together with the adminiſtration of the Government, which in all his Reign was juſt and regular, proceeded from the inſtructions which were given him by *Plutarch*. *Johannes Sarisberienſis*, who liv'd above ſix hundred years ago, has tranſcrib'd a Letter written, as he ſuppos'd, by our Author to that Emperor: Whence he had it, is not known, nor the Original in *Greek* to be produc'd; but it paſs'd for Genuine in that Age, and if not *Plutarch*'s, is at leaſt worthy of him, and what might well be ſuppos'd a Man of his Character would write; for which reaſon I have here tranſlated it.

Plutarch *to* Trajan.

I Am ſatisfied that your Modeſty ſought not the Empire, which yet you have always ſtudied to deſerve by the Excellency of your Manners. And by ſo much the more are you eſteem'd

eſteem'd worthy of this Honour, by how much you are free from the Ambition of deſiring it. I therefore congratulate both your Virtue, and my own good Fortune, if at leaſt your future Government ſhall prove anſwerable to your former Merit: Otherwiſe you have involv'd your ſelf in Dangers, and ſhall infallibly be ſubject to the Cenſures of detracting Tongues; because Rome *will never ſupport an Emperor unworthy of her, and the Faults of the Scholar will be upbraided to the Maſter. Thus* Seneca *is reproach'd, and his Fame ſtill ſuffers for the Vices of* Nero. *The Miſcarriages of* Quintilian's *Scholars have been thrown on him, and even* Socrates *himſelf is not free from the Imputation of Remiſſneſs, on the account of his Pupil* (Alcibiades.) *But you will certainly adminiſter all things as becomes you, if you ſtill continue what you are, if you recede not from your ſelf, if you begin at home, and lay the Foundation of Government on the Command of your own Paſſions, if you make Virtue the Scope of all your Actions, they will all proceed in Harmony and Order: I have ſet before you the Force of Laws and Civil Conſtitutions of your Predeceſſors; which if you imitate and obey,* Plutarch *is then your Guide of Living; if otherwiſe, let this preſent Letter be my Teſtimony againſt you, that you ſhall not ruin the* Roman *Empire, under the pretence of the Counſel and Authority of* Plutarch.

It may be conjectur'd, and with ſome ſhew of probability, from hence, that our Author not only collected his materials, but alſo made a rough draught of many of theſe parallel Lives at *Rome*, and that he read them to *Trajan* for his inſtruction in Government: and ſo much the rather I believe it, becauſe all Hiſtorians agree, that this Emperor, tho naturally prudent and inclin'd to Virtue, had more of the Soldier than the Scholar in his Education, before he had the Happineſs to know *Plutarch*; for which reaſon the *Roman* Lives, and the Inſpection into antient Laws, might be of neceſſary uſe to his Direction. And now for the time of our Author's abode in the Imperial City, if he came ſo early as *Veſpaſian*, and departed not till after *Trajan*'s Death, as is generally thought, he might continue in *Italy* near forty Years. This is more certain, becauſe gather'd from himſelf, that his Lives were almoſt the lateſt of his Works; and therefore we may well conclude, that having model'd, but not finiſh'd them at *Rome*, he afterwards reſum'd the Work in his own Country; which perfecting in his old Age, he dedicated to his Friend *Senecio* ſtill living, as appears by what he has written, in the Proem to his Lives.

The deſire of viſiting his own Country, ſo natural to all Men, and the Approaches of

of old Age, (for he could not be much leſs than ſixty) and perhaps alſo the Death of *Trajan*, prevail'd with him at laſt to leave *Italy*; or if you will have it in his own words, *he was not willing his little City ſhould be one the leſs by his abſence.* After his return, he was, by the unanimous Conſent of his Citizens, choſen *Archon*, or Chief Magiſtrate of *Chæronea*; and not long after admitted himſelf into the number of *Apollo*'s Prieſts: in both which Employments he ſeems to have continu'd till his Death. Of which we have no particular Account, either as to the manner of it, or the year; only 'tis evident, that he liv'd to a great old Age, always continuing his Studies: that he died a natural Death, is only preſum'd, becauſe any violent Accident to ſo famous a Man would have been recorded. And in whatſoever Reign he deceas'd, the days of Tyranny were over-paſs'd, and there was then a golden *Series* of Emperors, every one emulating his Predeceſſor's Virtues.

Thus I have collected from *Plutarch* himſelf, and from the *beſt Authors*, what was moſt remarkable concerning him. In performing which, I have labour'd under ſo many Uncertainties, that I have not been able to ſatisfy my own Curioſity, any more than that of others. 'Tis the Life of a Philoſopher, not vary'd with Accidents to divert the Reader: More pleaſant for himſelf

to live, than for an Hiſtorian to deſcribe. Thoſe Works of his, which are irrecoverably loſt, are nam'd in the Catalogue made by his Son *Lamprias*, which you will find in the *Paris* Edition, dedicated to King *Lewis* the Thirteenth: But 'tis a ſmall Comfort to a Merchant, to peruſe his Bill of Fraight, when he is certain his Ship is caſt away: Mov'd by the like reaſon, I have omitted that ungrateful Task. Yet that the Reader may not be impos'd on, in thoſe which yet remain, 'tis but reaſonable to let him know, that the Lives of *Hannibal* and *Scipio*, tho they paſs with the ignorant for genuin, are only the Forgery of *Donato Acciaiolo*, a *Florentine*. He pretends to have tranſlated them from a *Greek* Manuſcript, which none of the Learned have ever ſeen, either before, or ſince. But the Cheat is more manifeſt from this reaſon which is undeniable, that *Plutarch* did indeed write the Life of *Scipio*, but he compar'd him not with *Hannibal*, but with *Epaminondas*: As appears by the Catalogue, or Nomenclatura of *Plutarch*'s Lives, drawn up by his Son *Lamprias*, and yet extant. But to make this out more clearly, we find the *Florentine*, in his Life of *Hannibal*, thus relating the famous Conference betwixt *Scipio* and him. " *Scipio* at that time being ſent Am-
" baſſador from the *Romans*, to King *An-*
" *tiochus*, with *Publius Villius*; it happen'd
" then.

" then, that theſe two great Captains met " together at *Epheſus*, and amongſt other " Diſcourſe, it was demanded of *Hannibal* " by *Scipio*, whom he thought to have been " the greateſt Captain? To whom he thus " anſwer'd: In the firſt place *Alexander* of " *Macedon*; in the ſecond, *Pyrrhus* of *Epy-* " *rus*; and in the third, himſelf. To which, " *Scipio*, ſmiling, thus reply'd: And what " would you have thought, had it been " your fortune to have vanquiſh'd me? To whom *Hannibal*, " I ſhould then have ad- " judg'd the firſt place to my ſelf: Which " Anſwer was not a little pleaſing to *Scipio*, " becauſe by it he found himſelf not diſ- " eſteem'd, nor put into compariſon with " the reſt, but by the Delicacy and Gallan- " try of a well-turn'd Compliment, ſet like " a Man Divine above them all."

Now this Relation is a mere Compendium of the ſame Conference from *Livy*. But if we can conceive *Plutarch* to have written the Life of *Hannibal*, 'tis hard to believe, that he ſhould tell the ſame Story after ſo different, or rather ſo contrary, a manner, in another place. For, in the Life of *Pyrrhus*, he thus writes: " *Hannibal* adjudg'd " the Pre-eminence to *Pyrrhus* above all Cap- " tains, in Conduct and Military Skill: Next " to *Pyrrhus* he plac'd *Scipio*, and after *Sci-* " *pio* himſelf;" as we have declar'd in the Life of *Scipio*. 'Tis not that I would excuſe

Plutarch, as if he never related the ſame thing diverſly: for 'tis evident, that through want of Advertency he has been often guilty of that Error, of which the Reader will find too frequent Examples in theſe Lives; but in this place he cannot be charg'd with want of Memory or Care, becauſe what he ſays here, is relating to what he had ſaid formerly. So that he may miſtake the Story, as I believe he has done, (that other of *Livy* being much more probable) but we muſt allow him to remember what he had before written. From hence I might take occaſion to note ſome other Lapſes of our Author, which yet amount not to falſification of Truth, much leſs to Partiality or Envy, (both which are manifeſt in his Countryman *Dion Caſſius*, who writ not long after him) but are only the Frailties of Human Nature; Miſtakes not intentional, but accidental. He was not altogether ſo well vers'd, either in the *Roman* Language, or in their Coins, or in the value of them; in ſome Cuſtoms, Rites, and Ceremonies, he took Paſſages on truſt from others, relating both to them and the *Barbarians*, which the Reader may particularly find recited in the Animadverſions of the often prais'd *Rualdus* on our Author. I will name but one to avoid Tediouſneſs, becauſe I particularly obſerv'd it, when I read *Plutarch* in the Library of *Trinity Col-*

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lege in Cambridge, (to which Foundation, I gratefully acknowledg a great part of my Education;) 'tis that *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Cicero*, ſpeaking of *Verres*, who was accus'd by him, and repeating a miſerable Jeſt of *Tully*'s, ſays, that *Verres* in the *Roman* Language ſignifies a barrow Pig, that is, one which has been guelded. But we have a better account of the Signification from *Varro*, who we have more reaſon to believe, that the Male of that kind, before he is cut, is call'd *Verres*; after cutting *Majalis*, which is perhaps a diminutive of *Mas*, tho generally the reaſon of the Etymology is given from its being a Sacrifice to the Goddeſs *Maja*. Yet any Man, who will candidly weigh this and the like Errors, may excuſe *Plutarch*, as he would a Stranger, miſtaking the Propriety of an *Engliſh* Word: And beſides the Humanity of this Excuſe, 'tis impoſſible in nature, that a Man of ſo various Learning, and ſo covetous of ingroſſing all, ſhould perfectly digeſt ſuch an Infinity of Notions in many Sciences, ſince to be excellent in one is ſo great a labour.

It may now be expected, that having written the *Life* of an *Hiſtorian*, I ſhould take occaſion to write ſomewhat concerning Hiſtory it ſelf. But I think to commend it is unneceſſary: For the Profit and Pleaſure of that Study are both ſo very ob-

vious, that a quick Reader will be before-hand with me, and imagine faſter than I can write. Beſides, that the Poſt is taken up already, and few Authors have travel'd this way, but who have ſtrew'd it with Rhetorick, as they paſs'd. For my own part, who muſt confeſs it to my ſhame, that I never read any thing but for Pleaſure, it has always been the moſt delightful Entertainment of my Life. But they who have employ'd the Study of it as they ought, for their Inſtruction, for the Regulation of their private Manners, and the Management of publick Affairs, muſt agree with me, that it is the moſt pleaſant School of Wiſdom.

'Tis a Familiarity with paſt Ages, and an Acquaintance with all the Heroes of them. 'Tis, if you will pardon the Similitude, a Proſpective-Glaſs carrying your Soul to a vaſt diſtance, and taking in the fartheſt Objects of Antiquity. It informs the Underſtanding by the Memory: It helps us to judg of what will happen, by ſhewing us the like Revolutions of former times. For Mankind being the ſame in all Ages, agitated by the ſame Paſſions, and mov'd to Action by the ſame Intereſts, nothing can come to paſs, but ſome Precedent of the like nature has already been produc'd; ſo that having the Cauſes before your Eyes, we cannot eaſily be deceiv'd in the Effects, if we have Judgment enough but to draw the Parallel.

God,

God, 'tis true, with his Divine Providence, over-rules and guides all Actions to the ſecret End he has ordain'd them; but in the way of human Cauſes, a wiſe Man may eaſily diſcern, that there is a natural Connection betwixt them; and tho he cannot foreſee Accidents, or all things that poſſibly can come, he may apply Examples, and by them foretel, that from the like Counſels will probably ſucceed the like Events: And thereby in all Concernments, and all Offices of Life, be inſtructed in the two main Points, on which depends our Happineſs, that is, what to avoid and what to chuſe. The Laws of Hiſtory in general are Truth of Matter, Method, and Clearneſs of Expreſſion. The firſt Propriety is neceſſary to keep our Underſtandings from the Impoſitions of Falſhood: For Hiſtory is an Argument fram'd from many particular Examples, or Inductions. If theſe Examples are not true, then thoſe meaſures of Life, which we take from them, will be falſe, and deceives us in their Conſequence. The ſecond is grounded on the former; for if the Method be confus'd, if the Words or Expreſſions of Thought are any way obſcure, then the Ideas which we receive muſt be imperfect; and if ſuch, we are not taught by them what to elect, or what to ſhun. Truth therefore is requir'd, as the Foundation of Hiſtory, to inform us; Diſpoſition and Perſpicuity, as the Man-

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ner to inform us plainly: One is the Being, the other the Well-being of it. Hiſtory is principally divided into theſe three Species: *Commentaries* or *Annals*; *Hiſtory* properly ſo call'd; and *Biographia*, or the Lives of particular Men.

Commentaries or *Annals* are (as I may ſo call them) naked Hiſtory; or the plain Relation of Matter of Fact, according to the Succeſſion of Time, diveſted of all other Ornaments. The Springs and Motives of Actions are not here ſought, unleſs they offer themſelves, and are open to every Man's Diſcernment. The Method is the moſt natural that can be imagin'd, depending only on the Obſervation of Months and Years, and drawing, in the order of them, whatſoever happen'd worthy of Relation. The Stile is eaſy, ſimple, unforc'd, and unadorn'd with the Pomp of Figures; Counſels, Gueſſes, politick Obſervations, Sentences, and Orations, are avoided: In few words, a bare Narration is its Buſineſs. Of this kind the *Commentaries of Cæſar* are certainly the moſt admirable; and after him the *Annals* of *Tacitus* may have place. Nay even the Prince of *Greek* Hiſtorians, *Thucydides*, may almoſt be adopted into the number. For tho he inſtructs every where by Sentences, tho he gives the Cauſes of Actions, the Counſels of both Parties, and makes Orations where they are neceſſary; yet it is certain, that

he firſt deſign'd his Work a Commentary; every Year writing down, like an unconcern'd Spectator as he was, the particular Occurrences of the Time, in the order as they happen'd, and his Eighth Book is wholly written after the way of Annals; tho, out-living the War, he inſerted in his others thoſe Ornaments which render his Work the moſt compleat, and moſt inſtructive now extant.

Hiſtory, properly ſo call'd, may be deſcrib'd by the Addition of thoſe Parts, which are not requir'd to *Annals*. And therefore there is little farther to be ſaid concerning it: Only that the Dignity and Gravity of Stile is here neceſſary: That the Gueſſes of ſecret Cauſes, inducing to the Actions, be drawn at leaſt from the moſt probable Circumſtances, not perverted by the Malignity of the Author to ſiniſter Interpretations, of which *Tacitus* is accus'd; but candidly laid down, and left to the Judgment of the Reader. That nothing of Concernment be omitted, but things of trivial moment are ſtill to be neglected, as debaſing the Majeſty of the Work. That neither Partiality or Prejudice appear: But that Truth may every where be ſacred, *(ne quid falſi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat Hiſtoricus.)* That he neither incline to Superſtition, in giving too much Credit to Oracles, Prophecies, Divinations, and Prodigies; nor to Irreligi-

on,

on, in disclaiming the Almighty Providence: But where general Opinion has prevail'd of any miraculous Accident or Portent, he ought to relate it as such, without imposing his Opinion on our Belief. Next to *Thucydides* in this kind may be accounted *Polibius* amongst the *Grecians*: *Livy*, tho not free from Superstition, nor *Tacitus* from ill Nature, amongst the *Romans*: Amongst the modern *Italians*, *Guicchiardine*, and *D' Avilla*, if not partial; but above all Men, in my opinion, the plain, sincere, unaffected, and most instructive *Philip de Commines* amongst the *French*; tho he only gives his History the humble Name of *Commentaries*. I am sorry I cannot find in our own Nation (tho it has produc'd some commendable Historians) any proper to be rank'd with these. *Buchanan* indeed for the Purity of his *Latin*, and for his Learning, and for all other Endowments belonging to an Historian, might be plac'd amongst the greatest, if he had not too much lean'd to Prejudice, and too manifestly declar'd himself a Party of a Cause, rather than an Historian of it. Excepting only that (which I desire not to urge too far, on so great a Man, but only to give a Caution to his Readers concerning it) our Isle may justly boast in him, a Writer comparable to any of the Moderns, and excel'd by few of the Antients.

Biographia,

Biographia, or the Hiſtory of particular Mens Lives, comes next to be conſider'd; which in Dignity is inferiour to the other two, as being more confin'd in Action, and treating of Wars and Counſels, and all other publick Affairs of Nations, only as they relate to him, whoſe Life is written, or as his Fortunes have a particular Dependance on them, or Connection to them: All things here are circumſcrib'd, and driven to a Point, ſo as to terminate in one: Conſequently if the Action or Counſel were manag'd by Collegues, ſome part of it muſt be either lame or wanting; except it be ſupply'd by the Excurſion of the Writer: Herein likewiſe muſt be leſs of variety for the ſame reaſon; becauſe the Fortunes and Actions of one Man are related, not thoſe of many. Thus the Actions and Atchievements of *Sylla*, *Lucullus*, and *Pompey*, are all of them but the ſucceſſive Parts of the *Mithridatick* War: Of which we could have no perfect Image, if the ſame Hand had not given us the whole, tho at ſeveral Views, in their particular Lives.

Yet, tho we allow, for the Reaſons above alledg'd, that this kind of Writing is in Dignity inferiour to *Hiſtory* and *Annals*, in Pleaſure and Inſtruction it equals, or even excels both of them. 'Tis not only commended by antient Practice, to celebrate the Memory of great and worthy Men, as

the beſt Thanks which Poſterity can pay them: but alſo the Examples of Virtue are of more Vigour, when they are thus contracted into Individuals. As the Sun-beams, united in a Burning-glaſs to a Point, have greater Force than when they are darted from a plain Superficies; ſo the Virtues and Actions of one Man, drawn together into a ſingle Story, ſtrike upon our Minds a ſtronger and more lively Impreſſion, than the ſcatter'd Relations of many Men, and many Actions; and by the ſame means that they give us Pleaſure, they afford us Profit too. For when the Underſtanding is intent and fix'd on a ſingle thing, it carries cloſer to the Mark, every part of the Object ſinks into it, and the Soul receives it unmixt and whole. For this reaſon *Ariſtotle* commends the Unity of Action in a Poem; becauſe the Mind is not capable of digeſting many things at once, nor of conceiving fully any more than one Idea at a time. Whatſoever diſtracts the Pleaſure, leſſens it. And as the Reader is more concern'd at one Man's Fortune, than thoſe of many; ſo likewiſe the Writer is more capable of making a perfect Work, if he confine himſelf to this narrow Compaſs. The Lineaments, Features, and Colourings of a ſingle Picture, may be hit exactly; but in a Hiſtory-piece of many Figures, the general Deſign, the Ordinance or Diſpoſition of it, the Relation of one Figure

Figure to another, the Diverſity of the Poſture, Habits, Shadowings, and all the other Graces conſpiring to an Uniformity, are of ſo difficult Performance, that neither is the Reſemblance of particular Perſons often perfect, nor the Beauty of the Piece compleat: For any conſiderable Error in the Parts, renders the whole diſagreeable and lame. Thus then the Perfection of the Work, and the Benefit ariſing from it, are both more abſolute in *Biography* than in Hiſtory: All Hiſtory is only the Precepts of Moral Philoſophy reduc'd into Examples. *Moral Philoſophy* is divided into two Parts, *Ethicks* and *Politicks:* the firſt inſtructs us in our private Offices of Virtue; the ſecond in thoſe which relate to the Management of the Commonwealth. Both of theſe teach by Argumentation and Reaſoning, which ruſh as it were into the Mind, and poſſeſs it with Violence: But Hiſtory rather allures than forces us to Virtue. There is nothing of the Tyrant in Example; but it gently glides into us, is eaſy and pleaſant in its Paſſage; and in one word, reduces into practice our ſpeculative Notions. Therefore the more powerful the Examples are, they are the more uſeful alſo: And by being more known, they are more powerful. Now Unity, which is defin'd, is in its own nature more apt to be underſtood than Multiplicity, which in ſome meaſure participates

cipates of Infinity. The reaſon is *Ariſtotle*'s.

Biographia, or the Hiſtories of particular Lives, tho circumſcrib'd in the Subject, is yet more extenſive in the Stile than the other two: For it not only comprehends them both, but has ſomewhat ſuperadded, which neither of them have. The Stile of it is various, according to the Occaſion. There are proper Places in it, for the Plainneſs and Nakedneſs of Narration, which is aſcrib'd to Annals; there is alſo room reſerv'd for the Loftineſs and Gravity of general Hiſtory, when the Actions related ſhall require that manner of Expreſſion. But there is withal, a Deſcent into minute Circumſtances, and trivial Paſſages of Life, which are natural by this way of writing, and which the Dignity of the other two will not admit. There you are conducted only into the Rooms of State; here you are led into the private Lodgings of the Hero: You ſee him in his Undreſs, and are made familiar with his moſt private Actions and Converſations. You may behold a *Scipio* and a *Lelius* gathering Cockel-ſhels on the Shore; *Auguſtus* playing at Bounding-ſtones with Boys; and *Ageſilaus* riding on a Hobby-Horſe among his Children. The Pageantry of Life is taken away; you ſee the poor reaſonable Animal, as naked as ever Nature made him; are made acquainted with

with his Paſſions and his Follies, and find the *Demi-God* a *Man*. *Plutarch* himſelf has more than once defended this kind of relating little Paſſages. For in the Life of *Alexander* he ſays thus: *In writing the Lives of Illuſtrious Men, I am not tied to the Laws of Hiſtory: Nor does it follow, that becauſe an Action is great, it therefore manifeſts the Greatneſs and Virtue of him who did it; but on the other ſide, ſometimes a word, or a caſual jeſt, betrays a Man more to our knowledg of him, than a Battel fought, wherein ten thouſand Men were ſlain, or ſacking of Cities, or a courſe of Victories.* In another place he quotes *Xenophon* on the like occaſion: " The " ſayings of great Men, in their familiar " diſcourſes, and amidſt their Wine, have " ſomewhat in them, which is worthy to be " tranſmitted to Poſterity. Our Author therefore needs no excuſe, but rather deſerves a commendation, when he relates, as pleaſant, ſome Sayings of his *Heroes*, which appear, (I muſt confeſs it) very cold and inſipid mirth to us. For 'tis not his meaning to commend the Jeſt, but to paint the Man; beſides, we may have loſt ſomewhat of the Idiotiſm of that Language in which it was ſpoken; and where the conceit is couch'd in a ſingle word, if all the ſignifications of it are not critically underſtood, the grace and the pleaſantry are loſt. But in all parts of *Biography*, whether familiar

or ſtately, whether ſublime or low, whether ſerious or merry, *Plutarch* equally excell'd: If we compare him to others, *Dion Caſſius* is not ſo ſincere: *Herodian*, a lover of truth, is oftentimes deceiv'd himſelf, with what he had falſly heard reported; then the time of his Emperors exceeds not in all above ſixty years; ſo that his whole Hiſtory will ſcarce amount to three Lives of *Plutarch*. *Suetonius* and *Tacitus* may be call'd alike, either Authors of Hiſtories, or Writers of Lives: But the firſt of them runs too willingly into obſcene Deſcriptions, which he teaches while he relates; the other, beſides what has already been noted by him, often falls into obſcurity: and both of them have made ſo unlucky a choice of times, that they are forc'd to deſcribe rather Monſters than Men; and their Emperors are either extravagant Fools, or Tyrants, and moſt uſually both. Our Author, on the contrary, as he was more inclin'd to commend than to diſpraiſe, has generally choſen ſuch great Men as were famous for their ſeveral Virtues; at leaſt ſuch whoſe Frailties or Vices were over-pois'd by their Excellencies; ſuch, from whoſe Examples we may have more to follow than to ſhun. Yet, as he was impartial, he diſguis'd not the Faults of any Man. An Example of which is in the Life of *Lucullus*; where, after he has told

told us, that the double benefit which his Countrymen, the *Chæroneans*, receiv'd from him, was the chiefeſt motive which he had to write his Life, he afterwards rips up his Luxury, and ſhews how he loſt thro his miſmanagement, his Authority, and his Soldiers love. Then he was more happy in his Digreſſions than any we have nam'd. I have always been pleas'd to ſee him, and his Imitator *Montaign*, when they ſtrike a little out of the common Road: For we are ſure to be the better for their wandring.

The beſt Quarry lies not always in the open Field: And who wou'd not be content to follow a good Huntſman over Hedges and Ditches, when he knows the Game will reward his pains? But if we mark him more narrowly, we may obſerve, that the great reaſon of his frequent ſtarts, is the variety of his Learning: He knew ſo much of Nature, was ſo vaſtly furniſh'd with all the treaſures of the Mind, that he was uneaſy to himſelf, and was forc'd, as I may ſay, to lay down ſome at every paſſage, and to ſcatter his riches as he went: Like another *Alexander*, or *Adrian*, he built a City, or planted a Colony in every part of his Progreſs; and left behind him ſome memorial of his greatneſs. *Sparta*, and *Thebes*, and *Athens*, and *Rome*, the Miſtreſs of the World, he has diſcover'd in their Foundations, their Inſtitutions, their Growth, their Height, the

decay of the three firſt, and the alteration of the laſt. You ſee thoſe ſeveral People in their different Laws and Policies, and Forms of Government, in their Warriors, and Senators, and Demagogues. Nor are the Ornaments of Poetry, and the Illuſtrations of Similitudes forgotten by him; in both which he inſtructs as well as pleaſes, or rather pleaſes that he may inſtruct.

This laſt Reflection leads me naturally to ſay ſomewhat in general of his Stile, tho after having juſtly prais'd him for Copiouſneſs of Learning, Integrity, Perſpicuity, and more than all this, for a certain Air of Goodneſs which appears thro all his Writings, it were unreaſonable to be critical on his Elocution: As on a Tree which bears excellent Fruit, we conſider not the beauty of the Bloſſoms; for if they are not pleaſant to the Eye, or delightful to the Scent, we know at the ſame time, that they are not the prime intention of Nature, but are thruſt out in order to their product: So in *Plutarch*, whoſe buſineſs was not to pleaſe the Ear, but to charm and to inſtruct the Mind, we may eaſily forgive the Cadences of words, and the Roughneſs of expreſſion; yet for Manlineſs of Eloquence, if it abounded not in our Author, it was not wanting in him: He neither ſtudied the ſublime Stile, nor affected the flowry. The choice of Words, the numbers of Periods, the

turns

turns of Sentences, and thoſe other Ornaments of Speech, he neither ſought nor ſhun'd. But the depth of Senſe, the accuracy of Judgment, the diſpoſition of the Parts and contexture of the Whole, in ſo mirable and vaſt a Field of matter; and laſtly, the copiouſneſs and variety of words, appear ſhining in our Author. 'Tis indeed obſerv'd of him, that he keeps not always to the Stile of Proſe; but if a Poetical word, which carries in it more of Emphaſis or Signification, offer it ſelf at any time, he refuſes it not becauſe *Homer* or *Euripides* have us'd it: But if this be a fault, I know not how *Xenophon* will ſtand excus'd. Yet neither do I compare our Author with him, or with *Herodotus* in the ſweetneſs and graces of his Stile, nor with *Thucydides* in the ſolidity and cloſeneſs of Expreſſion. For *Herodotus* is acknowledg'd the Prince of *Ionick*, the other two of the *Attick* Eloquence. As for *Plutarch*, his Stile is ſo particular, that there is none of the Antients, to whom we can properly reſemble him. And the reaſon of this is obvious; for being converſant in ſo great variety of Authors, and collecting from all of them what he thought moſt excellent, out of the confuſion, or rather mixture of all their Stiles, he form'd his own, which partaking of each, was yet none of them; but a compound of them all, like the *Corinthian* Me-

tal, which had in it Gold, and Braſs, and Silver, and yet was a Species by it ſelf. Add to this, that in *Plutarch*'s time, and long before it, the purity of the *Greek* Tongue was corrupted, and the native ſplendour of it had taken the tarniſh of *Barbariſm*, and contracted the filth and ſpots of degenerating Ages. For the fall of Empires always draws after it the Language and Eloquence of the People: They who labour under misfortunes or ſervitude, have little leiſure to cultivate their Mother Tongue. To conclude, when *Athens* had loſt her Sovereignty to the *Peloponneſians*, and her Liberty to *Philip*, neither a *Thucydides*, nor a *Demoſthenes* were afterwards produc'd by her.

I have formerly acknowledg'd many lapſes of our Author, occaſion'd thro his inadvertency; but he is likewiſe tax'd with faults, which reflect on his Judgment in matters of fact, and his Candour in the compariſons of his *Greeks* and *Romans*. Both which are ſo well vindicated by *Montaign*, that I need but barely to tranſlate him. " Firſt then he is accus'd of want of Judg-
" ment, in reporting things incredible:
" For proof of which is alledg'd the ſtory
" he tells of the *Spartan* Boy, who ſuffer'd
" his Bowels to be torn out by a young
" Fox which he had ſtolen, chuſing rather
" to hide him under his Garment till he di-
" ed,

" ed, than to confeſs his Robbery. In the
" firſt place this Example is ill choſen, be-
" cauſe 'tis difficult to ſet a bound to the
" force of our internal faculties, 'tis not de-
" fin'd how far our reſolution may carry us
" to ſuffer: The force of Bodies may more
" eaſily be determin'd than that of Souls:
" Then of all People the *Lacedemonians*,
" by reaſon of their rigid inſtitution, were
" moſt harden'd to undergo Labours, and
" to ſuffer Pains. *Cicero*, before our Au-
" thor's time, tho then the *Spartan* Virtue
" was degenerated, yet avows to have ſeen
" himſelf ſome *Lacedemonian* Boys, who to
" make trial of their patience, were plac'd
" before the Altar of *Diana*, where they en-
" dur'd ſcourging, till they were all over
" bloody, and that not only without cry-
" ing, but even without a ſigh or groan:
" Nay, and ſome of them ſo ambitious of
" this reputation, that they willingly re-
" ſign'd their Lives under the hands of their
" Tormentors. The ſame may be ſaid of
" another ſtory, which *Plutarch* vouches
" with a hundred Witneſſes, That in the
" time of Sacrifice, a burning Coal by
" chance falling into the Sleeve of a *Spartan*
" Boy, who held the Cenſer, he ſuffer'd
" his Arm to be ſcorch'd ſo long without
" moving it, that the ſcent of it reak'd up
" to the Noſes of the Aſſiſtants.

" For my own part, who have taken in

" ſo vaſt an Idea of the *Lacedemonian* mag-
" nanimity, *Plutarch*'s ſtory is ſo far from
" ſeeming incredible to me, that I neither
" think it wonderful nor uncommon: For
" we ought not to meaſure poſſibilities or
" impoſſibilities by our own ſtandard, that
" is, by what we our ſelves cou'd do or
" ſuffer. Theſe, and ſome other ſlight Ex-
" amples, are made uſe of, to leſſen the
" opinion of *Plutarch*'s Judgment: But the
" common exception againſt his Candor, is,
" that in his parallels of *Greeks* and *Romans*
" he has done too much honour to his
" Countrymen in matching them with He-
" roes, with whom they were not worthy
" to be compar'd. For inſtances of this,
" there are produc'd the compariſons of
" *Demoſthenes* and *Cicero*, *Ariſtides* and *Ca-*
" *to*, *Lyſander* and *Sylla*, *Pelopidas* and *Mar-*
" *cellus*, *Ageſilaus* and *Pompey*: Now the
" ground of this Accuſation is moſt proba-
" bly the luſtre of thoſe *Roman* Names,
" which ſtrikes on our Imagination. For
" what proportion of glory is there betwixt
" a *Roman Conſul*, or *Proconſul* of ſo great a
" Common-wealth, and a *ſimple Citizen* of
" *Athens*? But he who conſiders the truth
" more nearly, and weighs not Honours
" with Honours, but Men with Men, which
" was *Plutarch*'s main deſign, will find in
" the Ballance of their Manners, their Vir-
" tues, their Endowments and Abilities,

" that

" that *Cicero* and the *Elder Cato*, were far
" from having the overweight againſt *De-*
" *moſthenes* and *Ariſtides*. I might as well
" complain againſt him in behalf of his own
" Countrymen: For neither was *Camillus*
" ſo famous as *Themiſtocles*; nor were *Ti-*
" *berius* and *Cajus Gracchus* comparable to
" *Agis* and *Cleomenes*, in regard of dignity:
" Much leſs was the Wiſdom of *Numa* to be
" put in Ballance againſt that of *Lycurgus*,
" or the Modeſty and Temperance of *Scipio*,
" againſt the ſolid Philoſophy and perfect
" Virtue of *Epaminondas:* Yet the diſparity
" of Victories, the Reputation, the blaze of
" Glory, in the two laſt, were evidently on
" the *Roman* ſide. But as I ſaid before, to
" compare them this way, was the leaſt of
" *Plutarch*'s aim; he openly declares againſt
" it: For ſpeaking of the courſe of *Pompey*'s
" Fortune, his Exploits of War, the Great-
" neſs of the Armies which he commanded,
" the ſplendour and number of his Tri-
" umps, in his compariſon betwixt him and
" *Ageſilaus*; I believe, ſays he, that if *Xeno-*
" *phon* were now alive, and would indulge
" himſelf the liberty to write all he could
" to the advantage of his Hero *Ageſilaus*,
" he would be aſham'd to put their acts in
" competition. In his compariſon of *Sylla*
" and *Lyſander*; There is, ſays he, no man-
" ner of equality, either in the number of
" their Victories, or in the danger of their
" Battels;

" Battels; for *Lyſander* only gain'd two
" Naval Fights, *&c.* Now this is far from
" partiality to the *Grecians.* He who wou'd
" convince him of this Vice, muſt ſhew us
" in what particular Judgment he has been
" too favourable to his Countrymen, and
" make it out in general where he has fail'd
" in matching ſuch a *Greek* with ſuch a *Ro-*
" *man:* which muſt be done by ſhewing
" how he could have pair'd them better;
" and naming any other in whom the re-
" ſemblance might have been more perfect.
" But an equitable Judg, who takes things
" by the ſame handle which *Plutarch* did,
" will find there is no injury offer'd to ei-
" ther Party, tho there be ſome diſparity
" betwixt the Perſons: For he weighs every
" Circumſtance by it ſelf, and judges ſepa-
" rately of it; not comparing Men at a
" lump, nor endeavouring to prove they
" were alike in all things, but allowing for
" diſproportion of quality or fortune, ſhew-
" ing wherein they agreed or diſagreed, and
" wherein one was to be prefer'd before
" the other.

I thought I had anſwer'd all that cou'd reaſonably be objected againſt our Author's Judgment; but caſually caſting my Eye on the Works of a *French* Gentleman, deſervedly famous for Wit and Criticiſm, I wonder'd, amongſt many Commendations of *Plutarch*, to find this one reflection. " As
" for

" for his Compariſons, they ſeem truly to
" me very great; but I think he might have
" carried them yet farther, and have pene-
" trated more deeply into human Nature:
" There are folds and receſſes in our minds,
" which have eſcap'd him; he judges Man
" too much in groſs; and thinks him not
" ſo different, as he is often from himſelf:
" The ſame Perſon being juſt, unjuſt, mer-
" ciful, and cruel; which qualities ſeem-
" ing to bely each other in him, he attri-
" butes their inconſiſtencies to foreign Cau-
" ſes: In fine, if he had deſcrib'd *Catiline*,
" he wou'd have given him to us, either
" Prodigal or Covetous; that *alieni appe-*
" *tens ſui profuſus*, was above his reach. He
" could never have reconcil'd thoſe contra-
" rieties in the ſame ſubject, which *Saluſt*
" has ſo well unfolded, and which *Montaign*
" ſo much better underſtood.

This Judgment cou'd not have proceed-ed, but from a Man who had a nice taſte in Authors; and if it be not altogether juſt, 'tis at leaſt delicate: but I am confident, that if he pleaſe to conſider this following Paſ-ſage taken out of the Life of *Sylla*, he will moderate, if not retract his cenſure.

" In the reſt of his manners he was une-
" qual, irregular, different from himſelf:
" ἀνώμαλος τις ἔοικε, καὶ διάφορος πρὸς ἑαυτὸν. He took
" many things by rapine, he gave more;
" honour'd Men immoderately, and us'd
" them

" them contumeliouſly: Was ſubmiſſive
" to thoſe of whom he ſtood in need, in-
" ſulting over thoſe who ſtood in need of
" him: So that it was doubtful, whether
" he were more form'd by Nature to arro-
" gance or flattery. As to his uncertain
" way of puniſhing, he would ſometimes
" put men to death on the leaſt occaſion; at
" other times he wou'd pardon the greateſt
" Crimes: So that judging him in the
" whole, you may conclude him to have
" been naturally Cruel, and prone to ven-
" geance, but that he could remit of his ſe-
" verity, when his Intereſts requir'd it.

Here methinks our Author ſeems to have ſufficiently underſtood the folds and doubles of *Sylla*'s diſpoſition; for his Character is full of variety and inconſiſtences. Yet in the concluſion, 'tis to be confeſs'd, that *Plutarch* has aſſign'd him a bloody Nature: The Clemency was but artificial and aſſum'd, the Cruelty was inborn. But this cannot be ſaid of his rapine, and his prodigality; for here the *alieni appetens, ſui profuſus* is as plainly deſcrib'd, as if *Plutarch* had borrow'd the ſenſe from *Saluſt*: And as he was a great Collector, perhaps he did. Nevertheleſs he judg'd rightly of *Sylla*, that naturally he was Cruel: For that quality was predominant in him; and he was oftner revengeful than he was merciful. But this is ſufficient to vindicate our Author's

Judgment

Judgment from being ſuperficial; and I deſire not to preſs the Argument more ſtrongly againſt this Gentleman, who has honour'd our Country by his long Reſidence among us.

It ſeems to me, I muſt confeſs, that our Author has not been more hardly treated by his Enemies, in his comparing other Men, than he has been by his Friends, in their comparing *Seneca* with him. And herein even *Montaign* himſelf is ſcarcely to be defended. For no Man more eſteem'd *Plutarch*, no Man was better acquainted with his Excellencies, yet this notwithſtanding, he has done too great an honour to *Seneca*, by ranking him with our Philoſopher and Hiſtorian; him, I ſay, who was ſo much leſs a *Philoſopher*, and no *Hiſtorian*. 'Tis a Reputation to *Seneca*, that any one has offer'd at the Compariſon: The worth of his Adverſary makes his defeat advantageous to him; and *Plutarch* might cry out with Juſtice, *Qui cum victus erit, mecum certaſſe feretur.* If I had been to find out a parallel for *Plutarch*, I ſhould rather have pitch'd on *Varro* the moſt learned of the *Romans*, if at leaſt his Works had yet remain'd; or with *Pomponius Atticus*, if he had written. But the likeneſs of *Seneca* is ſo little, that except the one's being Tutor to *Nero*, and the other to *Trajan*, both of them ſtrangers to *Rome*, yet rais'd to the higheſt

higheſt dignities in that City, and both Philoſophers, tho of ſeveral Sects; (for *Seneca* was a *Stoick*, *Plutarch* a *Platoniſt*, at leaſt an Academick, that is, half *Platoniſt* half *Sceptick*:) beſides ſome ſuch faint reſemblance as theſe, *Seneca* and *Plutarch* ſeem to have as little Relation to one another, as their Native Countries, *Spain* and *Greece*. If we conſider them in their inclinations or humours, *Plutarch* was ſociable and pleaſant, *Seneca* moroſe and melancholy: *Plutarch* a lover of Converſation and ſober Feaſts: *Seneca* reſerv'd; uneaſy to himſelf when alone, to others when in Company. Compare them in their manners, *Plutarch* every where appears candid, *Seneca* often is cenſorious. *Plutarch*, out of his natural humanity, is frequent in commending what he can; *Seneca*, out of the ſourneſs of his temper, is prone to Satyr, and ſtill ſearching for ſome occaſion to vent his gaul. *Plutarch* is pleas'd with an opportunity of praiſing Virtue; and *Seneca* (to ſpeak the beſt of him) is glad of a pretence to reprehend Vice. *Plutarch* endeavours to teach others, but refuſes not to be taught himſelf; for he is always doubtful and inquiſitive: *Seneca* is altogether for teaching others, but ſo teaches them, that he impoſes his Opinions; for he was of a Sect too imperious and dogmatical, either to be taught or contradicted. And yet *Plutarch* writes

writes like a man of a confirm'd Probity, *Seneca* like one of a weak and ſtaggering Virtue. *Plutarch* ſeems to have vanquiſh'd Vice, and to have triumph'd over it: *Seneca* ſeems only to be combating and reſiſting, and that too but in his own defence. Therefore *Plutarch* is eaſy in his Diſcourſe, as one who has overcome the difficulty: *Seneca* is painful, as he who ſtill labours under it. *Plutarch*'s Virtue is humble and civiliz'd; *Seneca*'s haughty and ill-bred. *Plutarch* allures you; *Seneca* commands you. One wou'd make Virtue your Companion, the other your Tyrant. The ſtile of *Plutarch* is eaſy and flowing; that of *Seneca* precipitous and harſh. The firſt is even, the ſecond broken. The Arguments of the *Grecian* drawn from Reaſon, work themſelves into your underſtanding, and make a deep and laſting impreſſion in your mind; thoſe of the *Roman* drawn from Wit, flaſh immediately on your imagination, but leave no durable effect. So this tickles you by ſtarts with his argutenes, thât pleaſes you for continuance with his propriety. The courſe of their fortunes ſeems alſo to have partaken of their ſtiles; for *Plutarch*'s was equal, ſmooth, and of the ſame tenour; *Seneca*'s was turbid, unconſtant, and full of revolution. The Life of *Plutarch* was unblameable, as the Reader cannot but have obſerv'd; and of all his Writings there is nothing

nothing to be noted as having the leaſt tendency to Vice; but only that little Treatiſe, which is intituled Ἐρωτικὸς, wherein he ſpeaks too broadly of a Sin, to which the Eaſtern and Southern parts of the World are moſt obnoxious: But *Seneca* is ſaid to have been more Libertine than ſuited with the gravity of a Philoſopher, or with the auſterity of a *Stoick*. An ingenious *Frenchman* eſteems, as he tells us, his Perſon rather than his Works; and values him more as the *Præceptor* of *Nero*, a Man ambitious of the Empire, and as the Gallant of *Agrippina*, than as a Teacher of Morality. For my part I dare not puſh the commendation ſo far: His Courage was perhaps praiſe-worthy, if he endeavour'd to deliver *Rome* from ſuch a Monſter of Tyranny, as *Nero* was then beginning to appear; his ambition too was the more excuſable, if he found in himſelf an ability of governing the World, and a deſire of doing good to Human Kind: But as to his good Fortunes with the Empreſs, I know not what value ought to be ſet on a wiſe Man for them; except it be, that Women generally liking without Judgment, it was a Conqueſt for a Philoſopher once in an Age, to get the better of a Fool. However, methinks there is ſomething of aukward in the adventure: I cannot imagine, without laughter, a *Pedant* and a *Stoick*, making love in a long Gown; for it

it puts me in mind of the civilities which are us'd by the Cardinals and Judges in the dance of the Rehearſal: If *Agrippina* wou'd needs be ſo laviſh of her favours, ſince a Sot grew nauſeous to her, becauſe he was her Husband, and nothing under a Wit cou'd atone for *Claudius*, I am half ſorry that *Petronius* was not the Man: We cou'd have born it better from his Character, than from one who profeſs'd the ſeverity of Virtue, to make a Cuckold of his Emperor and Benefactor. But let the Hiſtorian anſwer for his own Relation: Only, if true, 'tis ſo much the worſe, that *Seneca*, after having abus'd his Bed, cou'd not let him ſleep quiet in his Grave. The *Apocolocynthiſis*, or mock deification of *Claudius*, was too ſharp and inſulting on his Memory: And *Seneca*, tho he could preach forgiveneſs to others, did not practiſe it himſelf in that Satyr: Where was the patience and inſenſibility of a *Stoick*, in revenging his Baniſhment with a Libel? Where was the Morality of a Philoſopher, in defaming and expoſing of an harmleſs Fool? And where was common humanity, in railing againſt the dead? But the talent of his malice is viſible in other places: He cenſures *Mecenas*, and I believe juſtly, for the looſeneſs of his manners, the voluptuouſneſs of his Life, and the effeminacy of his ſtile; but it appears, that he takes pleaſure in ſo doing, and that he never forc'd his nature, when he ſpoke ill of any

Man. For his own Stile, we ſee what it is; and if we may be as bold with him, as he has been with our old Patron, we may call it a ſhatter'd Eloquence, not vigorous, not united, not embody'd, but broken into fragments; every part by it ſelf pompous, but the whole confus'd and unharmonious. His Latin, as Monſieur *St. Evremont* has well obſerv'd, has nothing in it of the Purity and Elegance of *Auguſtus*'s times: and 'tis of him and of his Imitators, that *Petronius* ſaid; *Pace veſtrâ liceat dixiſſe, primi omnium eloquentiam perdidiſtis.* The *Controverſiæ ſententiis vibrantibus pictæ*, and the *vanus Sententiarum ſtrepitus*, make it evident, that *Seneca* was tax'd under the perſon of the old Rhetorician. What quarrel he had to the Uncle and the Nephew, I mean *Seneca* and *Lucan*, is not known: but *Petronius* plainly points them out; one for a bad Orator, the other for as bad a Poet: His own Eſſay of the Civil War is an open defiance of the *Pharſalia*; and the firſt Oration of *Eumolpus*, as full an Arraignment of *Seneca*'s falſe Eloquence. After all that has been ſaid, he is certainly to be allowed a great Wit, but not a good Philoſopher: Not fit to be compar'd with *Cicero*, of whoſe reputation he was emulous, any more than *Lucan* is with *Virgil*. To ſum up all in few words, conſider a Philoſopher declaiming againſt Riches, yet vaſtly rich himſelf; againſt Avarice, yet putting

ting out his Mony at great Extortion here in *Britain*; againſt Honours, yet aiming to be Emperor; againſt Pleaſure, yet enjoying *Agrippina*, and in his old Age married to a beautiful young Woman: And after this, let him be made a *Parallel* to *Plutarch*.

And now, with the uſual vanity of *Dutch* Prefacers, I could load our Author with the Praiſes and Commemorations of Writers: For both Antient and Modern have made honourable mention of him. But to cumber pages with this kind of ſtuff, were to raiſe a diſtruſt in common Readers that *Plutarch* wants 'em. *Rualdus* indeed has collected ample Teſtimonies of them; but I will only recite the names of ſome, and refer you to him for the particular quotations. He reckons *Gellius*, *Euſebius*, *Himerius* the Sophiſter, *Eunapius*, *Cyrillus* of *Alexandria*, *Theodoret*, *Agathias*, *Phothius* and *Xiphilin*, Patriarchs of *Conſtantinople*, *Johannes Sarisberienſis*, the famous *Petrarch*, *Petrus Victorius*, and *Juſtus Lipſius*.

But *Theodorus Gaza*, a Man Learned in the *Latin* Tongue, and a great reſtorer of the *Greek*, who liv'd above two hundred years ago, deſerves to have his ſuffrage ſet down in words at length: For the reſt have only commended *Plutarch* more than any ſingle Author, but he has extol'd him above all together.

'Tis ſaid, that having this extravagant queſtion put to him by a Friend, that if Learning

muſt ſuffer a general Shipwrack, and he had only his choice left him of preſerving one Author, who ſhou'd be the Man he wou'd preſerve: he anſwer'd, *Plutarch*; and probably might give this reaſon, that in ſaving him, he ſhould ſecure the beſt Collection of them all.

The Epigram of *Agathias* deſerves alſo to be remember'd: This Author flouriſh'd about the year five hundred, in the Reign of the Emperor *Juſtinian*: The Verſes are extant in the *Anthologia*, and with the Tranſlation of them, I will conclude the praiſes of our Author; having firſt admoniſh'd you, that they are ſuppos'd to be written on a Statue erected by the *Romans* to his Memory.

Σεῖο πολυκλήϊστα τύπον ϛήσαντο Χερωνεῦ
Πλούταρχε πραπίδων υἷες Ἀυσονίων:
Ὅτι φιλελλήνοισι βίοις Ἑλλὰς ἀρίστη
Ρώμης ἐντολέμοις ἤμασε ναιέτας:
Ἀλλὰ τεῷ βίοιο φιλέλληνον βίον ἄλλον
Οὐδ' σύγ' ἂν γράψαις, ὃ σὸν ὅμοιον ἔχεις.

Cheronean Plutarch, *to thy deathleſs Praiſe*
Does Martial Rome *this grateful Statue raiſe:*
Becauſe both Greece *and ſhe thy fame have ſhar'd;*
(Their Heroes written, and their Lives compar'd:)
But thou thy ſelf coud'ſt never write thy own:
Their Lives have Parallels, but thine has none.

FINIS.

THE

THESEUS.

M Burghers delin. et sculp.

THE

LIFE

OF

THESEUS.

Engliſhed from the Greek,
By *R. Duke, Trin. Col. Cant.* Soc.

Volume I.

AS Hiſtorians, in their Geographical deſcriptions of Countries, croud into the fartheſt parts of their Maps thoſe places that eſcape their knowledg, with ſome ſuch Remarks in the Margin as theſe; all beyond is nothing but dry and deſart Sands, or unpaſſable Bogs, or *Scythian* Cold, or frozen Sea: So in this Work of mine, wherein I have compar'd the Lives of the greateſt Men with one

another, having run thro that time whereunto probable Reaſon cou'd reach, and thro which the truth of Hiſtory could paſs; I may very well ſay of thoſe that are farther off, All beyond is nothing but monſtrous and tragical Fictions. There the Poets, and there the Inventors of Fables dwell; nor is there any further to be expected ought deſerving of Credit, or that carries any appearance of Truth. Yet having publiſhed an Account of *Lycurgus* the Lawgiver, and *Numa* the King, methought I might not without reaſon aſcend as high as to *Romulus*, being brought by my Hiſtory ſo near to his time. Conſidering therefore with my ſelf

Whom with ſo great a man ſhall I compare?
Or whom oppoſe? Who can the tryal bear?

(as *Æſchilus* expreſſes it) I found none ſo fit as him that peopled the moſt celebrated City of *Athens*, to be ſet in oppoſition with the Father of the invincible and renown'd City of *Rome*. And here it were to be wiſh'd, that this account cou'd be ſo purg'd by right reaſon from the fabulous part, as to obey the Laws, and receive the character of an exact Hiſtory. But wherever it ſhall chance too boldly to contemn the bounds of credibility, and will endure no mixture of what is probable, we ſhall beg that we may meet

meet with candid Readers, and ſuch as will favourably receive what can be related concerning things of ſo great Antiquity.

Now *Theſeus* ſeems to reſemble *Romulus* in many particulars. Both of 'em born out of Wedlock, and of uncertain Parentage, had the repute of being ſprung from the Gods. *The compariſon between* Theſeus *and* Romulus.

Both Warriors; that by all the World's allow'd. Homer.

Both of them had join'd with ſtrength of Body an equal vigour of Mind; and of the two moſt famous Cities of the World, the one built *Rome*, and the other made *Athens* be inhabited. Both were famous for the Rape of Women; neither of them cou'd avoid domeſtick misfortunes, nor the envy of their Countrymen: but both are ſaid to have died by the hands of their own offended Citizens, if we will believe there is any truth in relations that are deliver'd with the leaſt appearance of ſtrange or Poetical Fiction.

The Lineage of *Theſeus* by his Father's ſide aſcends as high as to *Erectheus*, and the * firſt Inhabitants of *Attica*. By his Mother's ſide he was deſcended of *Pelops*: For *Pelops* was the moſt powerful of all the Kings of *Peloponneſus*, not ſo much for the greatneſs of his Riches, as the multitude of his Children; having match'd many Daughters to Perſons of the greateſt Quality, and *The Family of* Theſeus.

* Αὐτόχθονες.

made many Sons Governors of Provinces round about him. One whereof nam'd *Pittheus*, Grandfather to *Theſeus*, was Founder of the ſmall City of the *Trœzenians*, and had the repute of a man of the greateſt knowledg and wiſdom in his time: Which then it ſeems conſiſted chiefly in ſuch grave Sentences as the Poet *Heſiod* got his great eſteem by, in his Book of *Works and Days*. And even among them is one that they aſcribe to *Pittheus*,

Μισθὸς δ' ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ εἰρημένῳ ἄρτιος ἔστω.

Let a Friend's ſervices meet full reward.

Which alſo *Ariſtotle* witneſſes; and *Euripides*, when he calls *Hippolytus* Scholar of the ſacred *Pittheus*, ſhews the opinion that the World had of that great man. About this time *Ægeus*, being deſirous of Children, and conſulting the Oracle of *Delphos*, receiv'd that ſo celebrated anſwer which forbad him the uſe of any Woman before his return to *Athens*. But the Oracle being ſo obſcure as not to ſatisfy him that he was clearly forbid this, he went to *Trœzene*, and communicated to *Pittheus* the Voice of the God, which was in this manner:

Ἄσκει ὑπὲρ πρόχοιο πόδα, μέγα φέρτατε λαῶν
Μὴ λύσῃς πρὶν δῆμον Ἀθηνῶν εἰσαφικέσθαι.

I warn thee, Warrior, not to broach
Thy Goatskin full of generous Juice:
Nor footlong Spigot to produce,
Till thou to Athens *ſhalt approach.*

Pittheus therefore taking advantage from the obſcurity of the Oracle, prevail'd upon him, it is uncertain whether by perſuaſion or deceit, to lie with his Daughter *Æthra*. *Ægeus* afterwards knowing her whom he had lain with to be *Pittheus*'s Daughter, and ſuſpecting her to be with Child by him, he left a Sword and a pair of Shoes, hiding them under a great Stone that had a hollowneſs exactly fitting them, making her only privy to it, and commanding her, that if ſhe brought forth a Son, who when he came to Man's eſtate, ſhou'd be able to lift up the Stone and take away what he had left there, ſhe ſhou'd ſend him away to him with thoſe things with all ſecrecy, enjoining him as much as poſſible to conceal his Journey from all men: For he fear'd extreamly the *Pallantidæ*, who were continually mutinying againſt him, and deſpis'd him for his want of Children, they themſelves being fifty Brothers all of the Sons of *Pallas*.

When *Æthra* was deliver'd of a Son, ſome report that he was immediatly nam'd *Theſeus*, from the Tokens which his Father had put under the Stone: But others ſay, that

Θέσις signifies a putting any thing; πίθεσθαι signifies to adopt or acknowledg one for his Son.

that he receiv'd his name afterwards at *Athens*, when *Ægeus* acknowledg'd him for his Son. He was brought up under his Grandfather *Pittheus*, and had by him a Governor and Tutor ſet over him, nam'd *Connidas*, to whom the *Athenians* even to this time, the day before the Feaſt that is dedicated to *Theſeus*, ſacrifice a Ram; giving this honour to his memory upon a much juſter account than that which they gave to *Silanio* and *Pharrhaſius*, for having only made Pictures and Statues of *Theſeus*. There being then a Cuſtom for the *Grecian* Youth, upon their firſt coming to Man's Eſtate, to go to *Delphos* and offer Firſt-Fruits of their Hair to the God of the place; *Theſeus* alſo went thither, and they ſay that the place to this day is yet nam'd *Theſea* from him. But he ſhav'd only the fore-part of his Head, as *Homer* reports to be the Cuſtom of the *Abantes*. And this ſort of Tonſure was from him nam'd *Theſeis*. But the *Abantes* firſt us'd this ſort of ſhaving, not having learnt it from the *Arabians*, as ſome imagine, nor in imitation of the *Myſians*; but, being a Warlike People, and us'd to cloſe fighting, and above all other Nations accuſtom'd chiefly to engage hand to hand: as *Archilocus* witneſſes in theſe Verſes,

Οὗτοι πολλὸν ὄπι τόξα πανύστεσθαι, ὅτε δαμεισὶ
Σφενδόναι, εὖ τ' ἀν δι μώλου Ἄρης συνάγη

Ἐν

Ἐν πεδίῳ ξιφέων ὄ πολύσσονον ἔσσεται ἔργον
Ταύτης γὰρ κεῖνοι δαήμονες εἰσὶ μάχης
Δεσπότα Εὐβοίης δρεϊκλυτοι.

Slings they deſpiſe, and ſcorn to ſend from far
The flying Dart, and wage a diſtant War;
But hand to hand the truſty Swords they wield,
Do all the dreadful buſineſs of the Field:
This is the way of fight th' Eubœans *know,*
Nor Bow nor Sling they truſt, but ſtrike themſelves the blow.

Therefore that they might not give their Enemies that advantage of ſeizing them by the Hair, they were ſhav'd in this manner. They write alſo, that this was the reaſon why *Alexander* gave command to his Captains, that all the Beards of his *Macedonians* ſhou'd be ſhav'd, as being the readieſt hold for an Enemy.

Æthra for ſome time conceal'd the true Parentage of *Theſeus*; and there was a report given out by *Pittheus*, that he was begotten by *Neptune*: For the *Træzenians* have *Neptune* in the higheſt veneration. He is their Tutelar God, to him they offer all their Firſt-Fruits, and in his Honour ſtampt their Mony with a Trident. Theſeus *reputed the Son of* Neptune.

Theſeus in his youth diſcovering not only a great ſtrength of Body, but an equal force of Mind and firmneſs of Underſtanding, his Mother *Æthra*, conducting him to the Stone, and informing him who was his true

true Father, commanded him to take from thence the Tokens that *Ægeus* had left, and to ſail to *Athens*. He, without any difficulty, lifted up the Stone, and took them from thence; but refuſed to take his Journey by Sea, tho it was much the ſafer way, and tho he was continually preſt to it by the intreaties of his Grandfather and Mother. For it was at that time very dangerous to go by Land to *Athens*, no place of the Country being free from Thieves and Murderers: For that Age produc'd a ſort of Men, for ſtrength of Arms, and ſwiftneſs of Feet, and vigour of Body, excelling the ordinary rate of Men, and in labours and exerciſe indefatigable; yet making uſe of theſe gifts of Nature to nothing either good or profitable to Mankind, but rejoicing and taking pride in inſolence, and pleaſing themſelves in the enjoyment of their inhumanity and cruelty, and in ſeizing, forcing and committing all manner of outrages upon every thing that fell into their hands: who thought civility, and juſtice, and equity, and humanity, which many prais'd, either out of want of courage to commit injuries, or fear to receive them, nothing at all to concern thoſe who were the moſt daring and moſt ſtrong. Some of theſe *Hercules* deſtroy'd and cut off in his paſſing thro theſe Countries, but ſome who eſcap'd him, for fear fled and hid themſelves, or were ſpar'd by him in contempt

contempt of their abject ſubmiſſion: But after that *Hercules* fell into misfortune, and having ſlain *Iphitus*, retir'd to *Lydia*, and for a long time was there Slave to *Omphale*, a puniſhment which he had impos'd upon himſelf for the murder; then indeed the *Lydian* Affairs enjoyed all Peace and Security, but in *Greece* and the Countries about it, the like Villanies were again reviv'd and broke out, there being none to repreſs or chaſtiſe their Inſolence. It was therefore a very hazardous Journey to travel by Land from *Athens* to *Peloponneſus:* and *Pittheus*, giving him an exact account of each of theſe Thieves and Villains, of what ſtrength they were, and with what cruelty they us'd all ſtrangers, perſuaded *Theſeus* to go by Sea; but he, it ſeems, had long ſince been ſecretly fir'd with the glory of *Hercules*, and had him in the higheſt eſtimation, and was never more ſatisfy'd than in hearing thoſe that gave an account of him; eſpecially thoſe that had ſeen him, or had been preſent at any Action or Saying of his that was remarkable. Inſomuch that he was altogether in the ſame condition that in after ages *Themiſtocles* was, when he ſaid that the Trophies of *Miltiades* would not ſuffer him to ſleep: ſo he having in ſuch admiration the virtue of *Hercules*; in the Night his Dreams were all of that Hero's Actions, and in the Day a continual Emulation ſtir'd him up to perform the

His relation to Hercules.

the like. Beſides, they were nearly related, being born of Couſin-Germans. For *Æthra* was the Daughter of *Pittheus*, and *Alcmena* of *Lycidice*, and *Lycidice* and *Pittheus* Brothers and Siſters by *Hippodamia*. He thought it therefore a diſhonourable thing, and not to be endur'd, that *Hercules* ſhou'd every where purge both the Land and Sea from thoſe wicked Men, and that he himſelf ſhou'd fly from the like Adventures, that ſo fairly offer'd themſelves to him; diſgracing his reputed Father by a mean flight by Sea, and not ſhewing his true one, as manifeſt a Character of the greatneſs of his Birth by noble and worthy Actions, as by the tokens that he brought with him, the Shoes and the Sword.

With this mind and theſe thoughts he ſet forward, with a deſign to do injury to no body, but to repel and revenge himſelf of all thoſe that ſhou'd offer any. And firſt of all, in a ſet Combate, he ſlew *Periphetes* in *Epidauria*, who us'd a Club for his Arms, and from thence had his name of *Corynetes*, or the *Club-bearer*, who ſeiz'd upon him, and forbad him to go forward in his Journey. Being pleas'd with the Club, he took it, and made it his Weapon, having the ſame uſe of it as *Hercules* had of the Lion's Skin; for that he wore as evidence of what a prodigious greatneſs the Monſter was that he ſlew, and to the ſame end *Theſeus* carry'd

He ſlew Periphetes.

about

about him this Club; overcome indeed by him, but now, in his Hand, invincible.

Paſſing on further towards the Iſthmus of *Peloponneſus*, he ſlew *Sinnis*, that from the way of murder he us'd, was ſirnam'd the * *Bender of Pines*, after the ſame manner that he himſelf had deſtroy'd many others before. And this he did, not having either practis'd or ever learnt the art of bending theſe Trees, to ſhew that natural Strength is above all Art. This *Sinnis* had a Daughter of moſt excellent beauty and more than ordinary ſtature, call'd *Perigune*, who, when her Father was kill'd, fled, and was ſought after with all diligence by *Theſeus*; but ſhe, flying into a place overgrown with many Shrubs and Ruſhes and wild Aſparagus, innocently made her complaint to them, as if they cou'd have a ſenſe of her misfortune, and beg'd them to ſhelter her, with vows that if ſhe eſcap'd ſhe wou'd never cut them down or burn them: but *Theſeus* calling upon her, and giving her his promiſe, that he wou'd uſe her with all reſpect, and offer her no injury, ſhe came forth; and being enjoy'd by *Theſeus*, bore a Son to him nam'd *Menalippus:* but afterwards ſhe was married to *Deioneus* the Son of *Euritus*, the *Oechalian*, *Theſeus* himſelf giving her to him. And *Ioxus*, the Son of this *Menalippus*, who was born to *Theſeus*, accompany'd *Ornytus* in the Colony that he carried with him into *Caria*, from whom

He kills Sinnis.

* Πιτυοκαμπτης.

He begets Menalippus *of* Perigune *the Daughter of* Sinnis.

whom the People call'd *Ioxides*, have their name; who have this cuſtom deriv'd down to them from their Fathers, never to burn either Shrubs or Ruſhes, or wild *Aſparagus*, but to honour and worſhip them.

Slays the Cromyonian *Sow*, Phæa.

About this time the *Cromyonian* Sow, which they call'd *Phæa*, was a Beaſt not to be paſt by or deſpis'd, being of great fierceneſs and very hard to be overcome: her *Theſeus* kill'd, going out of his way to meet and engage her, that he might not ſeem to perform all his great Exploits out of mere neceſſity; being alſo of opinion, that it was the part of a brave Man, not only to chaſtiſe villanous and wicked Men, but alſo to fight and expoſe himſelf to the fury of the moſt fierce and hurtful Monſters and wild Beaſts. Others relate that this *Phæa* was a Woman, a Robber full of Cruelty and Luſt, that liv'd in *Cromyon*, and had the name of Sow given her from the beaſtlineſs of her Life and Converſation, and that afterwards ſhe was kill'd by *Theſeus*.

Kills Sciron.

He ſlew alſo *Sciron*, upon the borders of *Megara*, caſting him down from the Rocks; being, as moſt report, a notorious Robber of all Paſſengers; and, as others ſay, accuſtom'd out of inſolence and wantonneſs to ſtretch forth his Feet to ſtrangers, commanding them to waſh 'em, and then with a kick to thruſt them down the Rock into the Sea: But the Writers of *Megara*, in contradiction to the receiv'd report, and

as

as *Simonides* expreſſes it, *Fighting with all Antiquity*, contend, that *Sciron* was neither a Robber nor Committer of Injuries and Affronts, but a Puniſher of all ſuch, and full of all Humanity and Friendſhip to good and juſt Men; that *Æacus* was ever eſteem'd a Man of the greateſt Sanctity of all the *Greeks*; and that *Cychreus* the *Salaminian* was honour'd at *Athens* with Divine Worſhip; and that the Virtue of *Peleus* and *Telamon* were not unknown to any one; and that *Sciron* was Son-in-law to *Cychreus*, and Father-in-law to *Æacus*, and Grand-father to *Peleus* and *Telamon*, who were both of 'em Sons of *Erideis* the Daughter of *Sciron*, and *Carichlo:* that therefore it was not probable, that the beſt ſhould make theſe Alliances with the worſt of Men, giving and receiving mutually what was of greateſt value and moſt dear to 'em: but they relate that *Theſeus* did not ſlay *Sciron* in his firſt Journey to *Athens*, but afterwards, when he took *Eleuſis*, a City of the *Megarians*, having circumvented *Diocles* the Governor, whom, together with *Sciron*, he there ſlew. Theſe are the Contradictions which are between the Writers of this Story. In *Æleuſis* he kill'd *Cercyon* the *Arcadian*, in a wreſtling Match. And going on a little further, in the City *Hermione*, he ſlew *Damaſtes*, otherwiſe call'd *Procruſtes*, by force making him even to his own Beds, as he himſelf was us'd to do with all

Kills Cercyon,

And Procruſtes.

all Strangers; this he did in imitation of *Hercules*. For he, returning always to the Committers of theſe Outrages the ſame ſort of Violence that they offer'd to others, ſacrific'd *Buſyris*, wreſtled with *Antæus*, fought with *Cycnus* hand to hand, and kill'd *Termerus* by breaking his Skull in pieces, (from whence they ſay comes the Proverb of *A Termerian Miſchief*) for it ſeems *Termerus* kill'd Paſſengers that he met, by running, with all his force, his Head againſt theirs. Thus proceeded *Theſeus* in the Puniſhment of evil Men, who underwent the ſame Torments from him, which they had inflicted upon others; juſtly ſuffering after the manner of their own Injuſtice.

As he went forward on his Journey, and was come as far as the River *Cephiſus*, ſome of the Race of the *Phytalidæ* met him and ſaluted him: and upon his deſire to uſe the Purifications then in Cuſtom, they perform'd them with all the uſual Ceremonies; and having offer'd propitiatory Sacrifices to the Gods, they invited him and entertain'd him at their Houſe, who before in all his Journey had not met the like Civility.

Arrives at Athens. On the eighth Day of *June*, which was then call'd *Cronius*, he arriv'd at *Athens*, where he found the publick Affairs full of all Confuſion, and divided into Parties and Factions, *Ægeus* alſo and his whole private Family labouring under the ſame Diſtemper: for

for *Medea*, having fled from *Corinth*, and promis'd *Ægeus* to make him, by her Art, capable of having Children, was entertain'd by him, and admitted to his Bed; ſhe had the firſt knowledg of *Theſeus*, whom as yet *Ægeus* did not know; and he being in Years, full of Jealouſies and Suſpicions, and fearing every thing by reaſon of the Faction that was then in the City, ſhe eaſily perſuaded him to poiſon *Theſeus* at a Banquet to be prepar'd for him as a Civility to a Stranger. He coming to the Entertainment, thought it not fit to diſcover himſelf firſt; but being willing to give his Father the occaſion of firſt finding him out, the Meat being on the Table, he drew his Sword as if he deſign'd to cut with it. *Ægeus* upon the ſudden, perceiving the Token, threw down the Cup of Poiſon, and diſcovering his Son, embrac'd him; and having gather'd together all his Citizens, he own'd him publickly before them, who receiv'd him with great Satisfaction for the Fame of his Greatneſs and Bravery: and 'tis ſaid, that when the Cup fell, the Poiſon was ſpilt there where now is the Incloſure in the *Delphinian* Temple; for in that place ſtood *Ægeus*'s Houſe, and the Statue of *Mercury* on the Eaſt-ſide of the Temple is call'd the *Mercury* of *Ægeus*'s Gate.

Ægeus perſuaded to poiſon him, not knowing him to be his Son.

He is diſcover'd to his Father.

Now the Sons of *Pallas*, who before were quiet, upon hopes and expectations of recovering the Kingdom, at leaſt after *Ægeus*'s

The Pallantidæ *rebel.*

Death, who was without Iſſue, as ſoon as *Theſeus* appear'd, and was acknowledg'd the Succeſſor to the Crown, highly reſenting, that *Ægeus* firſt, an adopted Son only of *Pandion*, and not at all related to the Family of *Erectheus*, ſhou'd obtain the Kingdom, and that after *Theſeus*, one of another Country again, and a ſtranger, ſhou'd obtain the Crown, broke out into an open War. And dividing themſelves into two Companies, one part of them march'd openly from *Sphetta* with their Father againſt the City; the other, hiding themſelves in the Village of *Gargettus*, lay in Ambuſh with a deſign to ſet upon the Enemy on both ſides. They had with them a Crier of the Town of *Agnus*, nam'd *Leo*, who diſcover'd to *Theſeus* all the deſigns of the *Pallantidæ*: He immediatly fell upon them that lay in Ambuſcade, and cut 'em all off; which *Pallas* and his Company hearing, fled and were diſperſed.

They are overcome and diſpers'd by Theſeus.

From hence they ſay is deriv'd the Cuſtom among the *Palleneans*, to have no Marriages, or any Alliance with the People of *Agnus*, nor to ſuffer their Criers to pronounce in their Proclamations theſe words, ſolemnly us'd in all other parts of the Country, Ἀκούετε Λεὼς (Hear ye People) ſo great is their hatred to the very name of *Leo* for the foulneſs of his Treaſon.

Now

Now *Theſeus*, longing to be in Action, and withal deſirous to make himſelf popular, left *Athens* to fight with the Bull of *Marathon*; which did no ſmall miſchief to the Inhabitants of *Tetrapolis*. And having overcome it, he brought it alive in Triumph thro the City, and afterwards ſacrific'd it to *Apollo*. And as to what concerns *Hecale*, and the Story of her receiving and entertaining *Theſeus* in this Expedition, it ſeems to be not altogether void of Truth; for from hence the People round about, meeting upon a certain Day, offer'd a Sacrifice, which they call'd *Hecaleſium*, to *Jupiter Hecalion*, in honour of *Hecale*, whom, by a diminutive name, they call'd *Hecalene*, becauſe ſhe, as the Cuſtom of antient People is, ſhew'd her Affection to *Theſeus* by ſuch diminutive names: and having made a Vow to *Jupiter* for him as he was going to the Fight, that if he return'd in Safety, ſhe wou'd offer Sacrifices in Thanks of it, and dying before he came back, ſhe receiv'd this return of her Hoſpitality by the command of *Theſeus*, as *Philochorus* relates the Story.

He takes the Bull of Marathon *alive.*

Not long after arriv'd the third time from *Crete* the Collectors of the Tribute which the *Athenians* paid 'em upon the following occaſion. *Androgeus* having been treacherouſly murder'd about the Confines of *Attica*, not only *Minos* put the *Athenians* to extream inconveniences by a perpe-

The Murder of Androgeus.

tual War, but the Gods alſo laid waſte their Country; for both Famine and Peſtilence lay heavy upon 'em, and even their Rivers were dry'd up. But being told by the Oracle, that if they appeas'd and reconcil'd *Minos*, the Anger of the Gods would ceaſe, and they ſhould enjoy Reſt from the Miſeries they labour'd under; they ſent Ambaſſadors, and with much Supplication, were at laſt reconcil'd, having enter'd into an Agreement to ſend to *Crete* the ſpace of nine Years a Tribute of ſeven young Men, and as many Virgins, as the general Writers agree; and the moſt tragical Story that goes about concerning this matter, ſays, that the *Minotaure* deſtroy'd them, or that they wandring in the Labyrinth, and finding no poſſible means of getting out, miſerably ended their Lives there. And that this *Minotaure* was (as *Euripides* has it)

A mingled Form, where two ſtrange Shapes combin'd;
And different Natures, Bull and Man, were join'd.

But *Philochorus* writes, that the *Cretans* will by no means allow the truth of this, but ſay, that the Labyrinth was only an ordinary Priſon, having no other Ill in it, than that it ſecur'd the Priſoners from eſcaping, and that *Minos*, having inſtituted Games in Honour

Honour of *Androgeus*, gave as a Reward to the Victors thoſe that till that time had been Priſoners in the Labyrinth. And that the firſt that overcame in thoſe Games, was one of the greateſt Power and Command among 'em, nam'd *Taurus*, a Man of no merciful or ſweet Diſpoſition, but that carry'd himſelf towards the *Athenians*, that were made his Prize, in a moſt proud and inſolent manner; and even *Ariſtotle* himſelf, in the Account that he gives of the Government of the *Bottieans*, is manifeſtly of Opinion, that theſe Youths were not ſlain by *Minos*, but that they ſpent the remainder of their days in Slavery at *Crete*; and that the *Cretans*, to acquit themſelves of an antient Vow which they had made, were us'd to ſend an Offering of the firſt Fruits of their Men to *Apollo* of *Delphos*, and that ſome Deſcendants of theſe *Athenian* Slaves were mingled with 'em and ſent amongſt 'em; and of theſe, they that were not able to get their Living there, remov'd from thence, firſt into *Italy*, and inhabited the Country round about *Iapygia*; from thence again, that they remov'd to *Thrace*, and were nam'd *Bottieans*; and that this is the reaſon why in a certain Sacrifice, the *Bottiean* Women ſing a Hymn, beginning thus, *Let us go to Athens.* And from this, that it appear'd how dangerous it was to incur the Hatred of a City that was Miſtreſs of Elo-

The Cretans *Offering to* Apollo.

quence and a Muſe. For *Minos* was always ill ſpoken of, and repreſented ever as a very ill man upon the *Athenian* Stages; neither did *Heſiod* at all help him when he calls him *The moſt Royal Minos*, nor *Homer* when he ſtiles him, *The Companion of Jupiter*. But the Tragedians prevailing, made him always appear from the Stage as a cruel and inhuman Prince; but that really *Minos* was a very good King and Lawgiver, and that *Rhadamanthus* was a Judg under him, and a Preſerver of the Statutes that he ordain'd.

Now when the time of the third Tribute was come, and that the Fathers, who had any young men for their Sons, were to proceed by lot to the choice of thoſe that were to be ſent; there aroſe freſh diſcontents and accuſations againſt *Ægeus* among the People, who were full of grief and indignation, that he, who was the cauſe of all their miſeries, was the only Perſon exempt from the Puniſhment; but ſetling his Kingdom upon a Baſtard and a Foreign Son, took no notice of them whom he left deſtitute and without Children. Theſe things very ſenſibly affected *Theſeus*, who thinking it but juſt not to avoid, but rather partake of the ſufferings of his fellow Citizens, offer'd himſelf for one without any lot; all the reſt admiring him for the greatneſs of his Spirit, and loving him for his care of the Publick: and *Ægeus*, after all his Prayer and Intreaty,

Theſeus offers himſelf voluntarily to be ſent to Crete.

ty, finding him inflexible and not to be perſuaded, proceeded to the chuſing of the reſt by Lot. But *Hellanicus* writes, that the *Athenians* did not ſend the young Men and Virgins as they were choſen by lot, but that *Minos* himſelf coming thither made his own choice, and that he pitch'd upon *Theſeus* before all others, upon conditions agreed between 'em, that the *Athenians* ſhou'd furniſh 'em with a Ship, and that the young Men that were to ſail with him, ſhou'd carry no Weapon of War; but that if the *Minotaure* was deſtroy'd, this Tribute ſhou'd ceaſe.

The two former times of the payment of the Tribute, there appearing no hopes of ſafety or return, they ſent forth the Ship with a black Sail, as to unavoidable deſtruction: but now *Theſeus* encouraging his Father, and ſpeaking greatly of himſelf, as confident that he ſhou'd kill the *Minotaure*, he gave the Pilot another Sail which was White, commanding him as he return'd, if *Theſeus* eſcap'd, to make uſe of that, but if not, to ſail with the Black one, and to hang out that ſign of his Misfortune and Sorrow. But *Simonides* ſays, that the Sail which *Ægeus* deliver'd to the Pilot, was not White, but Purple dy'd in Grain, with the Flower of a certain Tree, commanding him to hang out this as a ſign of their Eſcape. *Amarſyadas Phereclus*, as *Simonides* writes, was Pilot

πευὸς, *Ilicis.*

of

of the Ship. But *Philochorus* ſays, that *Theſeus* had a Pilot ſent him by *Scirus*, from *Salamis*, nam'd *Nauſitheus*, and another Sailor, nam'd *Phæax*, they as yet not applying themſelves to Navigation; and that *Scirus* did this, becauſe one of the young Men, *Meneſthes*, was his Nephew; and this the Monuments of *Nauſitheus Phæax*, built by *Theſeus* near the Temple of *Sciron*, witneſs. He adds alſo, that the Feaſt nam'd *Cyberneſia*, was inſtituted in their Honour. The Lot being caſt, and *Theſeus* having receiv'd out of the *Prytonæum* thoſe upon whom it fell, he went to the *Delphinian* Temple, and made an Offering to *Apollo* for their ſafe return, which was a Bough of a conſecrated Olive-Tree bound about with white Wool.

κυβερνήτης πρεσβεύς.

His Offering at the Delphinian *Temple.*

Having thus perform'd his Devotion, he went to Sea, the ſixth day of *March*; on which Day, even till this time, the *Athenians* ſend their Virgins to the ſame Temple to make Supplication to the Gods. It is farther reported that he was commanded by the Oracle at *Delphos* to make *Venus* his Guide, and to invoke her as the Companion and Conductreſs of his Voyage, to whom as he was ſacrificing a She-Goat by the Sea-ſide, it was ſuddenly chang'd into a He, and for this Cauſe that Goddeſs had the Name of * *Epitragia.*

* Τράγος, *ſignifying Goat.*

When

When he arriv'd at *Crete*, as moſt of the antient Hiſtorians as well as Poets write, having a Clew of Thred given him by *Ariadne*, who had fall'n in love with him, and being inſtructed by her the uſe of it, which was to conduct him through all the Windings of the Labyrinth, he eſcap'd out of it, and ſlew the *Minotaure*, and ſail'd back, taking along with him *Ariadne*, and the young *Athenian* Captives. *Pherecydes* adds, that he bor'd Holes in the Keels of the *Cretan* Ships to hinder their purſuit. And *Demon* writes, that *Taurus* the Chief Captain of *Minos*, was ſlain in a Naval Combat by *Theſeus* in the Mouth of the Haven, immediately before he ſet ſail for *Athens*. But *Philochorus* gives us the Story thus, That at the ſetting forth of the yearly Game by King *Minos*, *Taurus*, who they thought would certainly bear away the Prize from all as he had done before, labour'd under the Envy of all *Crete*. For his Power grew grievous and inſupportable by reaſon of the Inſolence of his Manners, and beſides, he had been accus'd of too near a Familiarity with *Paſiphae* the Queen: which was the reaſon that when *Theſeus* deſir'd the Combat, *Minos* ſo eaſily comply'd. And as it was a Cuſtom in *Crete* that the Ladies alſo ſhould be admitted to the ſight of theſe Games, *Ariadne*, being preſent, was ſtrangely ſurpriz'd at the manly Beauty of *Theſeus*, and ſtruck

His Arrival at Crete, *and Adventures there.*

Taurus *envy'd by the* Cretans.

Ariadne *in love with* Theſeus.

ſtruck with admiration at the vigour and addreſs which he ſhew'd in the Combat, overcoming all that encountred with him. *Minos* too being extreamly pleas'd with him, eſpecially becauſe he had engag'd and overthrown *Taurus*, voluntarily gave up the young Captives to *Theſeus*, and remitted the Tribute to the *Athenians*. But *Clidemus* gives an account of theſe things peculiar to himſelf, very prolix, and beginning a great way off. That it was a Decree conſented to by all *Greece*, that no Veſſel from any place, containing above five Perſons, ſhould be permitted to ſail, *Jaſon* only excepted, who was made Captain of the great Ship *Argo*, to ſail about and ſcour the Sea of Pirates. But *Dædalus*, having eſcap'd from *Crete*, and flying by Sea to *Athens*, and *Minos*, contrary to this Decree, purſuing him with his great Ships, was forc'd by a Storm upon *Sicily*, and there ended his Life. After his deceaſe, *Deucalion* his Son, deſiring a quarrel with the *Athenians*, ſent to them, commanding that they ſhould deliver up *Dædalus* to him; threatning, upon their refuſal, to put to death all the young *Athenians* whom his Father had receiv'd as Hoſtages from the City. To this angry Meſſage *Theſeus* return'd a very gentle and mild Anſwer, excuſing himſelf, that he could not deliver up *Dædalus*, who was ſo nearly related to him, being his Couſin Germain;

Deucalion's *Meſſage to* Athens.

Theſeus's *Anſwer.*

Germain; for his Mother was *Merope*, the Daughter of *Erectheus*. In the mean while he ſecretly prepar'd a Navy, part of it at home near the Village of the *Thymœtades*, being a place of no reſort, and far from any common Roads; the other part, by his Grandfather *Pittheus*'s Permiſſion, he caus'd to be built and fitted out at *Træzene*, that ſo his deſign might be carried on with the greateſt ſecrecy. As ſoon as ever his Fleet was in readineſs he ſet Sail, and none of the *Cretans*, having any knowledg of his coming, but imagining, when they ſaw his Fleet, that they were Friends, and Veſſels of their own, he ſoon made himſelf Maſter of the Haven; and immediatly making a deſcent farther into the Iſland, and having with him *Dædalus*, and the other Fugitives for his Guides, he arriv'd at *Cnoſſus*, the City of the King's Reſidence, before any notice of his coming before the Gates of the Labyrinth, and in a ſhort Skirmiſh put *Deucalion* and all his Guards to the Sword. The Government by this means falling to *Ariadne*, he made a League with her, and receiv'd the Captives of her, and ratify'd a perpetual Friendſhip between the *Athenians* and the *Cretans*, whom he engag'd under an Oath never again to make War with *Athens*.

He fits out a Navy.

The Surpriſal of Cnoſſus.

There are yet many other reports about theſe things, and as many concerning *Ariadne*,

adne but none of any Certainty or Truth. For ſome relate, that ſhe hang'd her ſelf, being deſerted by *Theſeus*. Others, that ſhe was carry'd away by his Sailors to the Iſle of *Naxos*, and marry'd to *Onarus*, one of the Prieſts of *Bacchus*, and that *Theſeus* left her, becauſe he fell in love with another:

Δεινὸς γὰρ μιν ἔτειρεν ἔρως Παναπηΐδος Αἴγλης.

For Ægle's Love had pierc'd his Manly Breaſt.

For this Verſe, as *Hereas* the *Megarian* witneſſeth, was formerly in the Poet *Heſiod*'s Works, but put out by *Piſiſtratus*, in like manner as he added this other in *Homer*'s Deſcription of Hell, to gratify the *Athenians*,

Θησέα, Πειρίθοόν τε Θεῶν ἀρειφάτους τέκνα.

Theſeus, Perithous, *both Sons of Gods.*

Others report, that *Ariadne* had two Sons by *Theſeus*, *Oenopion* and *Staphilus*; and among theſe is the Poet *Ion*, of *Chios*, who writes thus of his own native City,

Τὴν ποτὲ Θησείδης ἔκτισεν Οἰνοπίων.

Built by Oenopion *the great* Theſeus's *Son.*

But

But all that the Poets have ſung of theſe matters, or that Fables have made more famous than ordinary, every body (as I may ſay) has it in his mouth. But *Pæon* the *Amathuſian*, has ſet forth a different Relation of theſe things, that has ſomewhat peculiar in it. For he writes, that *Theſeus* being driven by a Storm upon the Iſle of *Cypros*, and having aboard with him *Ariadne*, big with Child, and extreamly diſcompos'd with the rolling of the Sea, ſet her on Shore, and left her there alone in that weak Condition, to return to and help the Ship; where, on a ſudden, by a violent Wind, he was again forc'd out to Sea. That the Women of the Iſland receiv'd *Ariadne* very kindly, and adminiſter'd all manner of Comfort to her, that was extreamly afflicted and almoſt dead with Grief for being left behind. That they counterfeited kind Letters, and deliver'd them to her, as ſent from *Theſeus*; and, when ſhe fell in Labour, were very diligent in performing to her all the Offices that belong to Women: But that ſhe dy'd in Child-bed before ſhe could be deliver'd, and was by them honourably inter'd. That ſoon after *Theſeus* return'd, and was greatly afflicted for her loſs, and at his departure left a conſiderable Sum of Mony among thoſe of the Iſland, ordering them to ſacrifice and pay Divine Honour to *Ariadne*; and caus'd two little Images to be

Ariadne *left in* Cypros.

Her Death.

be made and dedicated to her, one of Silver and the other of Braſs. Moreover, that on the ſecond day of *September*, which is ſacred to *Ariadne*, they have this Ceremony among their Sacrifices, to have a Youth lie in, and with his voice and geſture counterfeit all the pains of a Woman in Travail; and that the *Amathuſians* call the Grove in which they ſhew her Tomb, the Grove of *Venus Ariadne*.

A Ceremony inſtituted in memory of Her.

Different yet from this account ſome of the *Naxians* write, that there were two *Minos*'s and two *Ariadne*'s; one of whom, they ſay, was married to *Bacchus*, in the Iſle of *Naxos*, and bore a Son nam'd *Staphylus*. But that the other, of a later Age, was raviſhed by *Theſeus*, and being afterwards deſerted by him, retir'd to *Naxos*, with her Nurſe *Corcyna*, whoſe Grave they yet ſhew. That this *Ariadne* alſo dy'd there, and was worſhip'd by the Iſland, but in a different manner from the former: for her day is celebrated with Feaſts and Revels, and an univerſal Joy; but all the Sacrifices perform'd to the latter, are mingled with Sorrow and Mourning.

Theſeus *his return from* Crete.

Now *Theſeus*, in his return from *Crete*, put in at *Delos*, and having ſacrific'd to the God of the Iſland, and dedicated to the Temple the Image of *Venus*, which *Ariadne* had given him, he danc'd with the young *Athenians* a Dance, that, in memory of him,

him, is ſtill preſerv'd among the Inhabitants of *Delos*, which in a certain order had turnings and returnings, that imitated the intricate windings of the Labyrinth. And this Dance, as *Dicæarchus* writes, is call'd among the *Delians*, the Crane. This he danc'd round the Ceratonian Altar, ſo call'd from its being compacted together, and adorn'd only with Horns taken from the left ſide of the Head. They ſay alſo, that he inſtituted Games in *Delos*, where he was the firſt that began the Cuſtom of giving a Palm to the Victors.

When they were come near the Coaſt of *Attica*, ſo great was the joy for the happy ſucceſs of their Voyage, that neither *Theſeus* himſelf, nor the Pilot, remembred to hang out the Sail which ſhould have been the token of their ſafety to *Ægeus*, who, knowing nothing of their ſucceſs, for grief threw himſelf headlong from a Rock, and periſh'd in the Sea. But *Theſeus* being arriv'd at the Port of *Phalera*, paid there the Sacrifices which he had vow'd to the Gods at his ſetting out to Sea, and ſent a Herald to the City to carry news of his ſafe return. At his entrance into the City the Herald found the People for the moſt part full of grief for the loſs of their King; others, as may be well believ'd, as full of joy for the Meſſage that he brought, and wholly bent to make much of him, and crown him

His and his Pilot's forgetfulneſs fatal to Ægeus.

with Garlands for ſo acceptable News; which he indeed accepted of, but hung them upon his Herald's Staff: and thus returning to the Sea-ſide before *Theſeus* had finiſh'd his Libation to the Gods, he ſtay'd without, for fear of diſturbing the Holy Rites; but as ſoon as the Sacrifice was ended, he entered, and related the whole ſtory of the King's Death: upon the hearing of which, with great Lamentations, and a confuſed tumult of grief, they ran with all haſt to the City. And from hence, they ſay, it comes that at this day, in the Feaſt *Oſcophoria*, the Herald is not crown'd, but his Staff, and that the People then preſent ſtill break out at the Sacrifice into this ſhout, ἐλελεῦ, ἰὺ, ἰὺ, *(eleleu, iou, iou)* of which confus'd ſounds the firſt was wont to be uſed by Men in haſt, or at a Triumph, the other is proper to thoſe that are in great Conſternation or Trouble.

Theſeus, after the Funeral of his Father, paid his Vows to *Apollo* the ſeventh day of *October*; for on that day the Youth that return'd with him ſafe from *Crete*, made their entry into the City. They ſay alſo, that the Cuſtom of boiling Pulſe at this Feaſt is deriv'd from hence, becauſe the young men that eſcap'd, put all that was left of their Proviſion together, and boiling it in one common Pot feaſted themſelves with it, and with great rejoicing did eat all together.

Hence

Hence alſo they carry about an Olive-branch bound about with Wool (ſuch as they then made uſe of in their Supplications) which they call *Eireſione*, crown'd with all ſorts of Fruits, to ſignify that Scarcity and Barrenneſs was ceas'd; ſinging in their Proceſſion this Song,

Εἰρεσιώνη σῦκα φέρειν καὶ πίονας ἄρτους
Καὶ μέλι ἐν κοτύλῃ καὶ ἔλαιον ἀναφῆσαδαι
Καὶ κυλικ' εὔζωρον ὡς ἂν μεθύουσα καθεύδῃς.

Eireſione *Figs produce,*
And wholeſom Bread and cheerful Oil,
And Honey, labouring Bees ſweet toil;
But above all Wine's noble juice:
Then Cares thou in the Cup ſhalt ſteep,
And full of joy receive ſoft ſleep.

Altho ſome are of Opinion, that this Ceremony is retain'd in memory of the *Heraclidæ*, who were thus entertain'd and brought up by the *Athenians*. But moſt are of the opinion which we have above deliver'd. The Ship wherein *Theſeus* and the Youth of *Athens* return'd, had thirty Oars, and was preſerv'd by the *Athenians*, down even to the time of *Demetrius Phalareus*; for they took away the old Planks as they decay'd, putting in new and ſtronger Timber in their place, inſomuch that this Ship became a ſtanding Example among the Philoſophers,

Theſeus *his Ship.*

loſophers, whenever they diſputed about things that encreaſe, one ſide holding, That the Ship remain'd the ſame, and the other as fiercely contending, That it was not the ſame.

The Feaſt call'd *Oſcophoria*, or the Feaſt of *Boughs*, which to this day the *Athenians* celebrate, was then firſt inſtituted by *Theſeus*. For he took not with him the full number of Virgins, which by Lot were to be carried away, but ſelected two Youths, with whom he had an intimate familiarity, of fair and womaniſh Faces, but of a manly and forward Spirit; and having by frequent Baths, and avoiding the heat and ſcorching of the Sun, with a conſtant uſe of all the Ointments, and Waſhes, and Dreſſes, that ſerve to the adorning of the Head, or ſmoothing the Skin, or improving the Complexion, in a manner chang'd them from what they were before, and having taught them further to counterfeit the very Voice, and Carriage, and Gate of Virgins, ſo that there could not be the leaſt difference perceiv'd, he undiſcover'd by any, put them into the number of the *Athenian* Maids deſign'd for *Crete*. At his return he and theſe two Youths led up a ſolemn Proceſſion, with Boughs and Vine-branches in their hands, and in the ſame habit that is now worn at the Celebration of the Feaſt of *Boughs*. Theſe Branches they carry'd in honour

honour of *Bacchus* and *Ariadne*, for the ſake of their Story before related; or rather becauſe they happen'd to return in Autumn, the time of gathering the Grapes. The Women, whom they call *Deipnophoræ*, or Supper-Carriers, are taken into theſe Ceremonies, and aſſiſt at the Sacrifice, in remembrance and imitation of the Mothers of the young Men and Virgins upon whom the lot fell; for thus buſily did they run about, bringing Banquets and Refreſhments to their Children: and becauſe the good Women then told their Sons and Daughters a great many fine Tales and Stories, to comfort and encourage them under the danger they were going upon, it has ſtill continu'd a Cuſtom, that at this Feaſt, old Fables and Tales ſhould be the chief Diſcourſe. And for all theſe Particularitys we are beholden to the Hiſtory of *Demon*. There was then a Place choſe out, and a Temple erected in it to *Theſeus*; and thoſe Families out of whom the Tribute of the Youth was gather'd, were oblig'd to pay a Tax to the Temple for Sacrifices to him. And the Houſe of the *Phytalidæ* had the overſeeing of theſe Sacrifices, *Theſeus* doing them that Honour in recompence of their former Hoſpitality.

Perſuades the Inhabitants of Attica to reſide together in one City.

Now after the death of his Father *Ægeus*, framing in his mind a great and wonderful deſign, he gather'd together all the Inhabitants of *Attica* into one Town, and made

made them one People of one City, that were before diſpers'd, and very difficult to be aſſembled upon any Affair, tho relating to the common benefit of them all. Nay, often ſuch Differences and Quarrels happen'd between them, as occaſion'd Bloodſhed and War; theſe he by his Perſuaſions appeas'd, and going from People to People, and from Tribe to Tribe, propos'd his deſign of a common agreement between them. Thoſe of a more private and mean Condition readily embracing ſo good Advice, to thoſe of greater Power and Intereſt he promis'd a Commonwealth, wherein Monarchy being laid aſide, the Power ſhould be in the People; and that, reſerving to himſelf only to be continu'd the Commander of their Arms, and the Preſerver of their Laws, there ſhould be an equal diſtribution of all things elſe between them: and by this means brought them over to his Propoſal. The reſt fearing his Power, which was already grown very formidable, and knowing his Courage and Reſolution, choſe rather to be perſuaded than forc'd into a Compliance. He then diſſolv'd all the diſtinct Courts of Juſtice, and Council-Halls, and Corporations, and built one common *Prytaneum* and Council-Hall, where it ſtands to this day; and out of the old and the new City he made one, which he nam'd *Athens*, ordaining a common

mon Feaſt and Sacrifice to be for ever obſerv'd, which he call'd *Panathenæa*, or the Sacrifice of all the United *Athenians*. He inſtituted alſo another Sacrifice, for the ſake of Strangers that would come to fix in *Athens*, call'd * *Metæcæa*, which is yet celebrated on the 16*th* day of *June*. Then, as he had promis'd, he laid down his Regal Power, and ſettled a Commonwealth, entring upon this great Change, not without advice from the Gods. For having ſent to conſult the Oracle of *Delphos*, concerning the Fortune of his new Government and City, he receiv'd this Anſwer:

* Metæcea (μετοικία) *ſignifies* Tranſmigration.

Lays down his Regal Power.

Αἰγείδη Θησεῦ, Πιτθηίδη ἔκγονε κούρης,
Πολλᾶς τοι τῇ πολίεσσι πατὴρ ἔμὸς ἐγκαλέθηκε,
Τέρμαλα ὃ κλωστῆρας ἐν ὑμετέρῳ πολιήθρῳ
Ἀλλὰ σὺ μήτι λίλω πεπονημένος ἔνδοθι θυμὸν
Βυλεύειν· Ἀσκὸς γὰρ ἐν ὁιδμάλε πονλοπορεύσῃ.

Hear, Theſeus, Pittheus *Daughter's Son*,
Hear what Jove *for thee has done.*
In the great City, thou haſt made,
He has, as in a Store-houſe, laid
The ſettled Periods and fixt Fates
Of many Cities, mighty States.
But know thou neither Fear nor Pain,
Sollicit not thy ſelf in vain.
For, like a Bladder that does 'bide
The fury of the angry Tide,
Thou from high Waves unhurt ſhalt bound,
Always toſt but never drown'd.

Which Oracle, they ſay, one of the Sibyls long after did in a manner repeat to the *Athenians*, in this Verſe:

Ἀσκὸς βαπτίζῃ, δῦναι ὅ τοι οὐ θέμις ἐστι.

The Bladder may be wet, but never drown'd.

Farther yet deſigning to enlarge his City, he invited all Strangers to come and enjoy equal Privileges with the Natives; and ſome are of Opinion, that the common form of Proclamation in *Athens*, *Come hither all ye People*, were the words that *Theſeus* cauſed to be proclaim'd, when he thus ſet up a Commonwealth, conſiſting, in a manner, of all Nations. Yet he ſuffer'd not his State, by the promiſcuous Multitude that flow'd in, to be turn'd into Confuſion, and be left without any order or degree; but was the firſt that divided the Commonwealth into three diſtinct Ranks, the Noblemen, the Husbandmen, and Artificers. To the Nobility he committed the choice of Magiſtrates, the teaching and diſpenſing of the Laws, and the interpretation of all Holy and Religious things; the whole City, as to all other Matters, being as it were reduc'd to an exact Equality, the Nobles excelling the reſt in Honour, the Huſbandmen in Profit, and the Artificers in Number. And *Theſeus* was the firſt, who

as

as *Ariſtotle* ſays, out of an inclination to Popular Government, parted with the Regal Power, and which *Homer* alſo ſeems to witneſs in his Catalogue of the Ships, where he gives the Name of *People* to the *Athenians* only.

He then coined Mony, and ſtamp'd it with the Image of an Ox, either in memory of the *Marathonian Bull*, or of *Taurus* whom he vanquiſh'd, or elſe to put his People in mind to follow Husbandry; and from this Coin came the Expreſſion ſo frequent among the *Greeks*, of a thing being worth ten or a hundred Oxen. After this he joined *Megara* at *Attica*, and erected that famous Pillar in the Straits of *Peloponneſus*, which bears an Inſcription of two lines, ſhewing the Bounds of the two Countries that meet there. On the Eaſt-ſide the Inſcription is thus:

This is not Peloponneſus, *but* Ionia.

And on the Weſt ſide thus:

This is Peloponneſus, *not* Ionia.

He alſo inſtituted annual Games, in emulation of *Hercules*; being ambitious, that as the *Greeks*, by that Hero's appointment, celebrated the *Olympian* Games to the Honour of *Jupiter*, ſo by his inſtitution they ſhould celebrate

celebrate the *Iſthmian* Games to the Honour of *Neptune*. For thoſe that were there before obſerv'd, dedicated to *Melicerta*, were perform'd privately and in the Night, and conſiſted rather of Religious Ceremonies, than of any open Spectacle or publick Feaſt. But ſome there are who ſay, that the *Iſthmian* Games were firſt inſtituted in memory of *Sciron*, at the Expiation which *Theſeus* made for his Murder, upon the account of the nearneſs of Kindred which was between them; *Sciron* being the Son of *Canethus*, and *Heniocha*, the Daughter of *Pittheus*: tho others write, that *Sinnis*, and not *Sciron*, was their Son, and that to his Honour, and not to the others, theſe Games were ordain'd by *Theſeus*; and *Hellanicus* and *Andro* of *Halicarnaſſus*, write, that at the ſame time he made an Agreement with the *Corinthians*, that they ſhould allow them who came from *Athens* to the Celebration of the *Iſthmian* Games, as much ſpace to behold the Spectacle in, as the Sail of the Ship that brought them thither, ſtretcht to its full extent, could cover, and that in the firſt and moſt honourable Place.

His Voyage into the Euxine Sea.

Concerning the Voyage that he made in the *Euxine Sea*, there are different Relations; for *Philochorus* and ſome others write, that he undertook this Expedition with *Hercules*, offering him his Service in the War againſt the *Amazons*, and had *Antiope* given

given him for the reward of his Valour: But others, as *Pherecydes*, *Hellanicus* and *Herodotus* write, that he made this Voyage many years after *Hercules*, with a Navy under his own Command, and took the *Amazon* Priſoner; and indeed this ſeems to come neareſt the Truth, for we do not read that any other of all thoſe who accompanied him in this Action, took any *Amazon* Priſoner. Different from the former, *Bion* writes, that he ſtole her away by deceit, and fled; for the *Amazons* (he ſays) being naturally Lovers of Men, were ſo far from flying from *Theſeus* when he touch'd upon their Coaſts, that they entertain'd him with great Civility, and ſent him Preſents to his Ship; but he having invited *Antiope* who brought them, to come aboard, immediatly ſet Sail, and carry'd her away. *Menecrates*, who wrote the Hiſtory of *Nicæa* in *Bithynia*, adds, that *Theſeus* having *Antiope* aboard his Veſſel, cruiſed for ſome time about thoſe Coaſts; and that there were in the ſame Ship three young Noblemen of *Athens*, that accompanied him in this Voyage, all Brothers, whoſe Names were *Euneus*, *Thoas*, and *Soloon*. The laſt of theſe fell deſperately in Love with *Antiope*, but conceal'd it with all poſſible care; only to one of his moſt intimate acquaintance he reveal'd the Secret, and employ'd him to break his Paſſion to *Antiope*;

tiope; ſhe rejected his pretences with a very ſharp denial, yet carried her ſelf to him with all outward appearance of Civility, and very prudently made no complaint to *Theſeus* of any thing that had happen'd: but *Soloon*, urg'd by deſpair, leap'd into a River near the Sea-ſide, and drowned himſelf. As ſoon as *Theſeus* was acquainted with his Death, and his unhappy Love that was the cauſe of it, he was extreamly concern'd, and in the height of his grief, an Oracle which he had formerly receiv'd at *Delphos*, came into his mind; for he had been commanded by the Prieſteſs of *Apollo Pythius*, that where ever in his Travels he was moſt ſorrowful, and under the greateſt affliction, he ſhould build a City there, and leave ſome of his Followers to be Governors of the Place. For this cauſe he there founded a City, which he call'd from the Name of *Apollo*, *Pythopolis*; and in honour of the unfortunate Youth, he nam'd the River that runs by it, *Soloon*, and left the two ſurviving Brothers entruſted with the care of the Government and Laws, joining with them *Hermus*, one of the Nobility of *Athens*, from whom a certain Place in the City is call'd *The Houſe of Hermus*; tho by an error in the accent of the word, it has been falſly taken for *the Houſe of Hermes*, or *Mercury*, and the Honour that was deſign'd to the Hero, transfer'd to the God. And this

He builds Pythopolis.

this was the riſe and ground of the *Amazonian* War, a War of no ſmall Conſequence, or in which the *Athenians* might think they had to do with Cowards or Women. For it is impoſſible they ſhould have plac'd their Camp in the very City, and join'd Battel in the middle of it, near the Temple of the *Muſes*, unleſs having firſt conquer'd the Country round about, they had without any delay or fear mov'd on boldly to *Athens*. That they made ſo long a Journy by Land, and paſſed an Arm of the *Cimmerian Boſphorus* that was frozen, as *Hellanicus* writes, is difficult to be believ'd. This is certain, that they encamp'd in the City, and it may be ſufficiently confirm'd by the Names that the Places thereabout yet retain, and the Graves and Monuments of thoſe that fell in the Battel. Both Armies now being in ſight, there was a long pauſe and doubt on each ſide which ſhould give the firſt Onſet: At laſt *Theſeus* having ſacrific'd to *Fear*, in obedience to the Command of an Oracle he had receiv'd, gave them Battel; and this happen'd in the Month of *Auguſt*, in which to this very day the *Athenians* celebrate the Feaſt, that is nam'd from that Month wherein this Battel was fought. But *Clidemus*, deſirous to be very nice in each particular of this Affair, writes, that the left Wing of the *Amazons* mov'd towards the Place which

Gives Battel to the Amazons.

is yet call'd *Amazoniu m*, and the right to a Place call'd *Pnyx*, near *Chryſa*; upon which the *Athenians*, iſſuing from behind the *Muſes* Temple, fell upon them: and that this is true, the Graves of thoſe that were ſlain, to be ſeen in the Street that leads to the Gate call'd *Piraica*, by the Temple of the Hero *Chalcodus*, are a ſufficient Proof. And here it was that the *Athenians* were routed, and ſhamefully turn'd their backs to Women as far as to the Temple of the *Furies*. But freſh ſupplies coming in from *Palladium*, *Ardettus*, and *Lyceum*, charg'd their right Wing, and beat them back into their very Tents; in which Action a great number of the *Amazons* were ſlain. At length, after four Months, a Peace was concluded between them by the mediation of *Hippolita*, (for ſo this Hiſtorian calls the *Amazon* which *Theſeus* marry'd, and not *Antiope*) tho others write that ſhe was ſlain with a Dart by *Molpadia*, fighting by *Theſeus* ſide, and that the Pillar which ſtands by the Temple at the entring into the *Olympian* Ground, was erected to her Honour. Nor is it to be wonder'd that the Hiſtory of things ſo very antient, ſhould be ſo various and uncertain. It is farther ſaid, that thoſe of the *Amazons* that were wounded, were privately ſent away by *Antiope* to *Chalcis*, where many by her care recover'd, but thoſe that dy'd were bury'd

Peace concluded.

bury'd in the Place that is to this time call'd *Amazonium*. That this War was ended by a mutual League and Agreement, is evident both from the Name of the Place adjoining to the Temple of *Theſeus*, call'd from the ſolemn Oath there taken, *Horcomoſium*, and alſo from the antient Sacrifice which is celebrated to the *Amazons*, the day before the Feaſt of *Theſeus*. The *Megarians* pretend alſo that ſome of the *Amazons* were buried in their City, and ſhew for one of their Monuments a Tomb in the figure of a Lozenge, in the paſſage from the Market-place to a Place call'd *Rhus*. It is ſaid likewiſe, that others of 'em were ſlain near *Chæronea*, and buried near a little Rivulet, formerly call'd *Thermodon*, but now *Hæmon*, of which I have formerly wrote in the Life of *Demoſthenes*. It appears further that the Paſſage of the *Amazons* thro *Theſſaly* was not without oppoſition, for there are yet to be ſeen many of their Sepulchres near *Scotuſſæa* and *Cynocephalæ*. And this is as much as is worthy the Relation, concerning the *Amazons*. For the account which the antient Author of a *Poem* call'd *Theſeis*, gives us, of this Invaſion of the *Amazons*, how that *Antiope*, to revenge her ſelf upon *Theſeus*, for refuſing her and marrying *Phædra*, came down upon the City with her Train of *Amazons*, was defeated, and had moſt of her Followers

ſlain

ſlain by *Hercules*, is manifeſtly nothing elſe but Fable, and the Invention of a Poet. It is true indeed that *Theſeus* married *Phædra*, but that was after the death of *Antiope*, by whom he had a Son called *Hippolytus*, or, as *Pindar* writes, *Demophoon*. As to the Calamities which befel both *Theſeus* and his Son, ſince none of the Hiſtorians have contradicted the Tragick Poets that have written of them, they are altogether to be receiv'd for Truths, as they are deliver'd from the Stage. There are alſo other Reports concerning the Marriages of *Theſeus*, the beginnings of which were neither honourable, nor their events fortunate, which yet were never repreſented in the *Grecian* Plays. He forc'd *Anaxo*, the *Trœzenian*; having ſlain *Sinnis* and *Cercyon*, he raviſh'd their Daughters; he married *Peribœa* the Mother of *Ajax*, and then *Phæribœa*, and then *Iope* the Daughter of *Iphicles*. Further he is accus'd for deſerting *Ariadne*, (as is before related) being in Love with *Ægle* the Daughter of *Panopeus*, an action neither juſt nor honourable. And laſtly for the Rape of *Helen*, which fill'd all *Attica* with War and Blood, and was in the end the occaſion of his Baniſhment and Death, as ſhall hereafter be related.

His Marriages.

Herodotus is of opinion, that tho there were many famous Expeditions undertaken by the braveſt and moſt honourable Captains

tains of his Time, yet *Theſeus* never made one amongſt them, nor appear'd in any great and publick Action; once only excepted, when he join'd with the *Lapithæ* in their War againſt the *Centaurs*: But others ſay that he accompany'd *Jaſon* to *Colchos*, and *Meleager* to the ſlaying of the *Calydonian Boar*; and that hence this came to be a proverbial Speech, *Not without Theſeus.* Alſo that *Theſeus* without any aid of the Heroes of his Time, did himſelf perform very many and very great Exploits; and that from the high eſteem the World ſet upon his Valour, it grew into a Proverb, *This is another Theſeus.* He was alſo very inſtrumental to *Adraſtus*, in recovering the Bodies of thoſe that were ſlain before *Thebes*, but not, as *Euripides* in his Tragedy ſays, by force of Arms, but by perſuaſion, and mutual agreement and compoſition, for ſo the greater part of Hiſtorians write: nay, *Philochorus* adds farther, that this was the firſt Treaty that ever was made for the recovering and burying the Bodies of the dead; tho the Hiſtory of *Hercules* ſays, that he was the firſt that ever gave leave to his Enemies to carry off the Bodies of their ſlain. The burying places of the Common Soldiers are yet to be ſeen in the Village call'd *Elutheræ*, and thoſe of the Commanders at *Eleuſis*, where *Theſeus* allotted them a place for their Interment,

In moſt of the printed Copies it is read, This is another Hercules. *But ſome Manuſcripts read it better, as it is here tranſlated.*

ment, to oblige *Adraſtus*. And that the dead Bodies were thus recover'd, *Æſchylus* is Witneſs in his *Tragedy* call'd the *Eleuſinians*, where *Theſeus* himſelf is brought in relating the Story as it is here told; which quite overthrows what *Euripides* writes on this Subject, in his Play call'd *The Suppliants*.

The occaſion of the Friendſhip between Theſeus, *and* Peirithous.

The extraordinary and ſo much celebrated Friendſhip between *Theſeus* and *Peirithous*, is ſaid to have been thus begun. The Fame of the matchleſs Strength and Valour of *Theſeus* being ſpread thro all *Greece*, *Peirithous* was enflam'd with a deſire to be ſatisfy'd, and make a trial himſelf of what he had heard ſo much by Report; to this end he ſeized a Herd of Oxen which belong'd to *Theſeus*, and was driving them away from *Marathon*, when News was brought that *Theſeus* purſu'd him in Arms: upon which, diſdaining to fly, he turn'd back, and went on to meet him. But as ſoon as ever they had view'd one another, each ſo admir'd the Gracefulneſs and Beauty, and was ſeiz'd with ſuch a Reverence for the Bravery and Courage of the other, that they forgat all thoughts of Fighting; and *Peirithous* firſt ſtretching out his hand to *Theſeus*, bad him be Judg in this Caſe himſelf, and promis'd to ſubmit willingly to whatever he demanded, in ſatisfaction for the injury he had done. But *Theſeus* not only forgave him

all

all the damages he had ſuſtain'd, but entreated him to be his Friend and Brother in Arms; and there immediately they ſwore an inviolable Friendſhip to each other. After this *Peirithous* married *Deidamia*, and invited *Theſeus* to the Wedding, entreating him to come and ſee his Country, and enter into Alliance with the *Lapithæ*. He had at the ſame time invited the *Centaurs* to the Feaſt, who growing hot with Wine, began to be very inſolent and leud, and offer'd violence to the Women; which ſo enrag'd the *Lapithæ*, that they took immediate revenge upon them, ſlaying many of them upon the place: and afterwards having overcome them in Battel, drove the whole Race of them out of their Country, *Theſeus* all along taking their part, and fighting on their ſide. But *Herodotus* gives a different Relation of theſe things: That *Theſeus* came not to the aſſiſtance of the *Lapithæ* till the War was already begun; and that it was in this Journey that he had the firſt ſight of *Hercules*, having made it his buſineſs to find him out at *Trachine*, where he had choſen to reſt himſelf after all his wandrings and labours; and that this Interview was honourably perform'd on each part with extream Civility, Reſpect and Admiration of each other. Yet it is more credible what other Hiſtorians write, that there were before

frequent Interviews between them, and that it was by the means of *Theſeus* that *Hercules* was initiated and admitted to the Ceremonies of the Goddeſs *Ceres*, having, by his interceſſion alſo, been firſt purify'd, upon the account of ſeveral raſh Actions of his former Life.

Theſeus was now fifty years old, as *Hellanicus* reports, when he raviſh'd *Helen*, who was very young, and not of Age to be married. Wherefore ſome Writers, to take away this Accuſation of one of the greateſt Crimes that is laid to his charge, ſay, that he did not ſteal away *Helen* himſelf, but that *Idas* and *Lynceus* were the Raviſhers, who brought her to him, and committed her to his Charge, and that therefore he refus'd to reſtore her at the demand of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*; or according to others, that her own Father *Tyndarus* ſent her to be kept by him, for fear of *Enaſphorus* the Son of *Hippocoon*, who would have carry'd her away by force when ſhe was yet a Child. But the moſt probable Relation, and that which has moſt Witneſſes on its ſide, is this: *Theſeus* and *Peirithous* went both together to *Sparta*, and having ſeiz'd the young Lady, as ſhe was dancing in the Temple of *Diana Orthia*, fled away with her. There were preſently Men in Arms ſent to purſue the Raviſhers, but they followed the purſuit no farther than to *Tegea*; and *Theſeus* and

The Rape of Helen.

and *Peirithous* being now out of danger, having eſcap'd out of *Peloponneſus*, made an agreement between themſelves, that he to whom the lot ſhou'd fall, ſhould have *Helen* to his Wife, but ſhould be oblig'd to be ready with his aſſiſtance to procure another for his Friend. The lot fell unto *Theſeus*, who convey'd her to *Aphidnæ*, not being yet marriageable, and deliver'd her to one of his Allies call'd *Aphidnus*; and having ſent his Mother *Æthra* after to take care of her Education, deſir'd him to keep them ſo ſecretly, that none might know where they were. Which done, to return the ſame ſervice to his Friend *Peirithous*, he accompany'd him in his Journey to *Epirus*, in order to ſteal away the King of the *Moloſians* Daughter. This King, his own Name being *Aidoneus* or *Pluto*, call'd his Wife and his Daughter *Proſerpina*, and a great Dog which he kept, *Cerberus*, with whom he order'd all that came as Suitors to his Daughter to fight, and promis'd her to him that ſhould overcome the Beaſt. But having been inform'd, that the deſign of *Peirithous* his coming was not to court his Daughter, but to force her away, he cauſed them both to be ſeized, and threw *Peirithous* to be torn in pieces by his Dog, and clapt up *Theſeus* into Priſon, and kept him in Chains.

Accompanies Peirithous *to* Epirus.

Peirithous's *Death.*

Theſeus *in Priſon.*

About this time, *Meneſtheus*, the Son of *Peteus*, who was great Grandſon to *Erectheus*, the firſt Man that is recorded to have affected Popularity, and ingratiated himſelf with the Multitude, ſtir'd up and exaſperated the moſt eminent Men of the City, who had long born a ſecret grudg to *Theſeus*; and poſſeſt them with a belief that *Theſeus* had taken from them their ſeveral little Kingdoms and Lordſhips, that ſo having pent them all up in one City, he might uſe them as his Subjects and Slaves. He put alſo the meaner ſort into no ſmall commotion, by accuſing them ſharply, that being deluded with a mere dream of Liberty, tho indeed they were depriv'd both of that, and of their Countrys and their Temples, inſtead of many good and gracious Kings of their own, they had given themſelves up to be lorded over by a New-comer and a Stranger. Whilſt he was thus buſied in infecting the minds of the Citizens, the War that *Caſtor* and *Pollux* brought againſt *Athens*, came very opportunely to further the Sedition he had been promoting; and ſome ſay that he by his perſuaſions was wholly the cauſe of their invading the City. At their firſt approach they committed no Acts of Hoſtility, but peaceably demanded their Siſter *Helen*; but the *Athenians* returning anſwer, that they knew not where ſhe was diſpos'd of,

Meneſtheus *ſtirs up the* Athenians *againſt* Theſeus.

Caſtor *and* Pollux *invade* Athens *for the recovery of* Helen.

of, they prepar'd to aſſault the City; when *Academus* (by what means he came to the knowledg of it, is uncertain) diſcover'd to them that ſhe was ſecretly kept at *Aphidnæ*. For which Reaſon he was both extreamly honour'd during his Life by *Caſtor* and *Pollux*; and the *Lacedæmonians*, when in after-times they made ſeveral Incurſions into *Attica*, and deſtroy'd all the Country round about, ſpar'd the *Academy* for his ſake. But *Dicæarchus* writes, that there were two *Arcadians* in the Army of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, the one call'd *Echedemus*, and the other *Marathus*; from the firſt, that which is now call'd the *Academy*, was then nam'd *Echedemia*, and the Village *Marathon* had its Name from the other, who according to the Oracle willingly offer'd up himſelf a Sacrifice for the proſperous ſucceſs of the Army. As ſoon as the *Lacedæmonians* were arriv'd at *Aphidnæ*, they firſt overcame their Enemies in a ſet Battel, and then aſſaulted it, and took the Town. And here, they ſay, *Alycus*, the Son of *Sciron*, was ſlain on the *Lacedæmonians* ſide, from whom a Place in *Megara*, where he was bury'd, is call'd *Alycus* to this day. And *Hereas* writes, that it was *Theſeus* himſelf that kill'd him, in witneſs of which he cites theſe Verſes concerning *Alycus*.

They take Aphidnæ.

Τὸν ἐν εὐρηχόρῳ ποτ' Ἀφίδνῃ
Μαρναμένων Θησεὺς Ἑλένης ἕνεκ' ἠυκόμοιο
Κτάνεν.

And Alycus *on fair* Aphidna's *Plain,*
By Theſeus *in the Cauſe of* Helen *ſlain.*

Tho it is not at all probable, that *Theſeus* himſelf was there when both the City and his own Mother were taken. *Aphidnæ* being now won by *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, and the whole City of *Athens* in great Conſternation, *Meneſtheus* perſuaded the People to open their Gates, and receive them with all manner of Civility and Friendſhip, who, he told them, deſign'd no violence or injury to any but *Theſeus*, who had firſt done them wrong, but were Benefactors and Saviours to all Mankind beſide. And their behaviour to the conquer'd gave credit to what *Meneſtheus* promis'd; for having made themſelves abſolute Maſters of the Place, they demanded no more than to be initiated in the Ceremonies of the Goddeſs *Ceres*, ſince they were as nearly related to their City as *Hercules* was, who had receiv'd the ſame Honour. This their deſire they eaſily obtain'd, and were adopted by *Aphidnus*, as *Hercules* had been by *Pylius*. They were honour'd alſo like Gods, and call'd by a new Name, *Anaces*,

ces, either from the * Ceſſation of the War, or from the ſingular care they took that none ſhould ſuffer any injury, tho there was ſo great an Army within the Walls of the City, for the Phraſe (Ἀναχῶς ἔχειν) ſignifies as much, from whence it is likely that Kings were call'd *Anactes*. Others ſay, that from the appearance of their Star in the Heavens, they were thus call'd, for in the *Attick* Dialect this Name comes very near the words * that ſignify *Above*.

* *In Greek*, Ἀνοχὴ.

* ἀνέκας, and ἀνέκαθεν.

Some ſay that *Æthra*, *Theſeus* his Mother, was here taken Priſoner, and carried to *Lacedæmonia*, and from thence went away with *Helen* to *Troy*, alledging this Verſe of *Homer* to prove that ſhe waited upon *Helen*.

Αἴθρη Πιτθῆος θύγατερ, Κλυμένη τε βοῶπις.

Æthra *of* Pittheus *born*; *and* Clymene.

Others reject this Verſe as none of *Homer*'s, as they do likewiſe the whole Fable of *Munychus*, who, the Story ſays, was the Son of *Demophoon* and *Laodice*, and was brought up privately by *Æthra* at *Troy*. But *Iſtrus*, in the 13*th* Book of his *Attic Hiſtory*, gives us an account of *Æthra*, different yet from all the reſt: That after the Fight, wherein *Achilles* and *Patroclus* overcame *Paris* in *Theſſaly*, near the River *Sperchius*, *Hector*

Hector ſack'd and plunder'd the City of the *Trœzenians*, and took *Æthra* Priſoner there. But this ſeems to be an abſurd and groundleſs Tale.

Now it happen'd that *Hercules* paſſing once by the Country of the *Moloſſians*, was entertain'd in his way by *Aidoneus* the King, who in Diſcourſe accidentally fell upon a Relation of the Journey of *Theſeus* and *Peirithous* into his Dominions, and what they had deſign'd to do, and what they were forc'd to ſuffer. *Hercules* was extreamly concern'd for the inglorious Death of the one, and the miſerable condition of the other. As for *Peirithous*, he thought it but in vain to expoſtulate with the King concerning his being put to Death: But *Theſeus* being yet kept in Priſon, he beg'd to have him releas'd for his ſake, and obtain'd that favour from the King. *Theſeus* being thus ſet at liberty, return'd to *Athens*, where his Friends were not yet wholly ſuppreſs'd, and dedicated to *Hercules* all the Temples, which the City had erected to himſelf, changing their Names from *Theſea* to *Heraclea*, four only excepted, as *Philochorus* writes. And now deſigning to preſide in the Commonwealth, and manage the State as before, he ſoon found himſelf fall'n into a Neſt of Faction and Sedition; he diſcover'd that thoſe who of a long time had hated him, had now added

Hercules procures the releaſe of Theſeus.

He returns to Athens.

Slighted by the Athenians.

added to their hatred of his Perſon a contempt of his Authority: and ſeeing the minds of the People ſo generally corrupted, that, inſtead of obeying with ſilence and ſubmiſſion what ever was commanded, they expected to be flatter'd and ſooth'd into their Duty, he had ſome thoughts to have reduc'd them by force; but by the prevalence of the Faction, and continual Diſorders, he was deterr'd from the Attempt. And at laſt deſpairing of any good ſucceſs of his Affairs in *Athens*, he ſent away his Children privately into *Eubœa*, commending them to the care of *Elephenor* the Son of *Chalcodus*; and he himſelf having ſolemnly curs'd the People of *Athens*, in the Village of *Gargettus*, in which there yet remains the Place call'd *Araterion*, or the Place of Curſing, ſail'd to *Scyrus*, where he had Lands left him by his Father, and, as he perſuaded himſelf, a great Friendſhip with all thoſe of the Iſland. *Lycomedes* was then King of *Scyrus*: *Theſeus* therefore addreſſed himſelf to him, and deſir'd to have his Lands put into his poſſeſſion, as deſigning to ſettle and to dwell there; tho others ſay, that he came to beg his aſſiſtance againſt the *Athenians*. But *Lycomedes*, being either jealous of the Glory of ſo great a Man, or to gratify *Meneſtheus*, having led him up to the higheſt Cliff of the Iſland, on pretence of ſhowing him from

He ſails to Scyrus.

from thence the Lands that he deſir'd, threw him headlong down from the Rock, and kill'd him. But others ſay, he fell down of himſelf by an unfortunate ſlip of his Foot, as he was walking there after Supper according to his uſual Cuſtom. At that time there was no notice taken, nor were any concern'd for his Death, but *Meneſtheus* quietly poſſeſs'd himſelf of the Kingdom of *Athens*. His Sons were brought up in a private condition, and accompany'd *Elephenor* to the *Trojan* War; but after the deceaſe of *Meneſtheus*, who dy'd in the ſame Expedition, they return'd to *Athens*, and recover'd the Government to themſelves. But in ſucceeding Ages there were ſeveral remarkable Accidents, that mov'd the *Athenians* to honour *Theſeus* as a *demy-God*. For in the Battel which was fought at *Marathon* againſt the *Medes*, many of the Soldiers ſaw an Apparition of *Theſeus* all in Arms fighting in the head of them, and ruſhing on upon the *Barbarians*. And after the *Median* War, *Phædo* being Archon of *Athens*, the *Athenians* conſulting the Oracle of *Delphos*, were commanded to gather together the Bones of *Theſeus*, and laying 'em in ſome honourable Place, keep them as ſacred in the City. But it was very difficult to recover theſe Reliques, or ſo much as to find out the Place where they lay, by reaſon of the inhoſpitable and ſavage temper

His Death.

per of the barbarous People that inhabited the Iſland. But afterwards when *Cimon* took the Iſland, (as is related in his Life) and had a great deſire to find out the Place where *Theſeus* was buried, he by chance ſpy'd an Eagle upon a riſing ground pecking it with her Beak, and tearing up the Earth with her Talons; when on the ſudden it came into his mind, as it were by ſome divine Inſpiration, to dig there, and ſearch for the Bones of *Theſeus*. There was found in that place a Coffin of a Man of more than ordinary ſize, and the Head of a braſs Lance, and a Sword lying by it, all which he took aboard his Gally, and brought with him to *Athens*. The *Athenians* having notice of this, went out to meet and receive the Reliques of this great Man in a ſplendid and pompous Proceſſion, and did ſacrifice to them, and were as much tranſported, as if *Theſeus* himſelf was return'd alive to their City. After that they interr'd them in the middle of the City, near the Place where the Youth perform their Wreſtlings and other Exerciſes of Body. His Tomb is a Sanctuary and Refuge for Slaves, and all thoſe of mean condition, that fly from the Perſecution of Men in Power, in memory that *Theſeus* while he lived, was an Aſſiſter and Protector of the Diſtreſs'd, and never refus'd the Petitions of the Afflicted, that

fled to him for Succour and Defence. The chief and moſt ſolemn Sacrifice which they celebrate to him, is kept on the 8*th* day of *October*, in which he return'd with the *Athenian* young Men from *Crete*. Beſides which they ſacrifice to him on the 8*th* day of every Month, either becauſe he return'd from *Trazene* the 8*th* day of *June*, as *Diodorus* the Geographer writes, or elſe thinking that number of all others to be moſt proper to him, becauſe he was reputed to be born of *Neptune*; for they ſacrifice to *Neptune* on the 8*th* day of every Month; for the Number Eight being the firſt Cube of an even Number, and the double of the firſt Square, ſeemed to be an Emblem of the ſtedfaſt and immovable Power of this God, who from thence has the Names of *Aſphalius* and *Gæiochus*, that is, *the Eſtabliſher and Stayer of the Earth.*

ROMULUS.

MBurghers delin. et sculp.

THE

LIFE

OF

ROMULUS.

Engliſhed from the Greek,

By Mr. *James Smalwood*, Fel. of *Trin. Col.* in *Cambridge*.

Volume I.

BY whom, and for what reaſon, the City of * *Rome*, a Name ſo great in glory, and famous in the mouths of all men, was ſo firſt call'd, Authors do not agree. Some are of opinion that the *Pelaſgians*, after they had over-run the greater part of the habitable World, and ſubdued

* *Whence* Rome *was ſo call'd.*

ſubdued moſt Nations, fix'd themſelves here, and from their own great ſtrength in War [which is the ſignification of the word in *Greek*] call'd the City of *Rome*. Others, that after the taking of *Troy*, ſome few that eſcap'd the Enemy, fortunately meeting with Shipping, put to Sea, and being driven upon the Coaſts of *Tuſcany*, came to an Anchor off the Mouth of the River *Tyber*, where, their Women being miſerably tir'd and haraſs'd by the toilſomneſs of the Voyage, it was propos'd by one whoſe Name was *Roma*, a Perſon of the beſt Quality, and ſeemingly of the beſt Underſtanding too amongſt 'em, to burn the Ships: Which being done, the Men at firſt were very much offended at it; but afterwards, of neceſſity, ſeating themſelves near *Palatium*, where things in a ſhort while ſucceeded far better than they could hope, in that they found the Country very good, and the People courteous, they not only did the Lady *Roma* all other great Honours, but they added this alſo, of calling the City they had built after her Name. From this, they ſay, came that Cuſtom at *Rome* for Women to ſalute their Kinſmen and Huſbands with Kiſſes, becauſe thoſe Women, after they had burnt the Ships, did make uſe of ſuch like Allurements to pacify their Husbands, and allay the diſpleaſure

they

they had conceiv'd. Some ſay, that *Roma*, from whom this City was ſo call'd, was Daughter of *Italus* and *Leucaria*; others, of *Telephus*, *Hercules*'s Son, who was married to *Æneas*; others again, of *Aſcanius*, *Æneas*'s Son. But then ſome ſay, *Romanus*, the Son of *Ulyſſes* and *Circe*, built it; ſome that *Romus*, the Son of *Emathion*, whom *Diomede* ſent from *Troy*; and others, that it was founded by *Romus*, King of the *Latins*, that drove out the *Tuſcans*, who came originally from *Theſſaly* into *Lydia*, and from thence into thoſe parts of *Italy*. Nay, thoſe very Authors, who by the cleareſt Reaſons make it appear, that *Romulus* gave Name to that City, do yet ſtrangely differ concerning his Birth and Family: For ſome write, he was Son to *Æneas* and *Dexithea*, Daughter of *Phorbas*, who, with his Brother *Remus*, in their Infancy, was carried into *Italy*, and being on the River when the Waters were very rough, all the Ships were caſt away except only that where the young Children were; which being ſafely landed on a level Bank of a River, they were both unexpectedly ſav'd, and from them the Place was call'd *Rome*. Some ſay, *Roma*, Daughter of that *Trojan* Lady who was married to *Latinus*, *Telemachus*'s Son, was Mother to *Romulus*; others that *Æmilia*, Daughter of *Æneas* and *Lavinia*,

Divers Opinions of the Name of Rome.

of Romulus's *Birth.*

had him by the God *Mars*; and others give you little leſs than mere Fables of his Original. As that to *Tarchetius*, King of *Alba*, who was a moſt wicked and cruel Man, there appear'd in his own Houſe a ſtrange Viſion, which was the Figure of a Man's Yard, that roſe out of a Chimney-hearth, and ſtay'd there for many days. Whereupon the Oracle of *Tethys* in *Tuſcany* being conſulted, the reſult of it was, that ſome young Virgin ſhould accept of its Court, and ſhe ſhould have a Son Famous in his Generation, eminent for Virtue, good Fortune, and ſtrength of Body. *Tarchetius* told the Prophecy to one of his own Daughters, and commanded her to entertain the Lover; but ſhe ſlighting the matter, put her Woman on the execution of it. *Tarchetius* hearing this, in great indignation impriſon'd the Offenders, purpoſing to put 'em to death; but being deter'd from Murder by the Goddeſs *Veſta* in a Dream, enjoin'd them for their puniſhment the working a piece of Cloth, in their Chains, as they were, which when they finiſh'd, they ſhould be ſuffer'd to marry; but what-ever they work'd by day, *Tarchetius* commanded others to unravel in the Night. In the mean time the Waiting-woman was deliver'd of two Boys, whom *Tarchetius* gave into the hands of one *Teratius*, with ſtrict Com-

Command to deſtroy 'em; but he expos'd 'em to Fortune by a River ſide, where a Wolf conſtantly came and ſuckled 'em, and the Birds of the Air brought little morſels of Food, which they put into their mouths; till a Neat-herd ſpying 'em, was firſt ſtrangely ſurpriz'd, but venturing to draw nearer, took the Children up in his Arms. This was the manner of their preſervation, and thus they grew up 'till they ſet upon *Tarchetius*, and overcame him. This *Promathion* ſays, that writ the Hiſtory of *Italy*; but *Diocles Preparethius* deliver'd firſt among the *Græcians* the moſt principal Parts of the Hiſtory that has moſt credit, and is generally receiv'd; him *Fabius Pictor* in moſt things follows. Yet here too are ſtill more Scruples rais'd: As for Example; The Kings of *Alba* deſcending lineally from *Æneas*, the Succeſſion devolv'd at length upon two Brothers, *Numitor* and *Amulius*. *Amulius* to divide things into two equal ſhares, put in equivalency to the Kingdom all the Treaſury and Gold that was brought from *Troy*. *Numitor* choſe the Kingdom; but *Amulius* having the Mony, and being able to do more with that than *Numitor*, he both with a great deal of eaſe took his Kingdom from him, and withal fearing leſt his Daughter might have Children, made her a Veſtal Nun,

in that condition for ever to live a ſingle and Maiden Life. This Lady ſome call'd *Ilia*, others *Rhea*, and others *Sylvia*; however not long after ſhe was, contrary to the eſtabliſh'd Laws of the Veſtals, diſcover'd to be with Child, and ſhould have ſuffer'd the moſt cruel Puniſhment, had not *Antho*, the King's Daughter, mediated with her Father for her: nevertheleſs ſhe was confin'd, and debar'd all human Converſation, that ſhe might not be deliver'd without his knowledg. In time ſhe brought forth two Boys, extraordinary both in the bigneſs and beauty of their Bodies: Whereupon *Amulius* becoming yet more fearful, commanded a Servant to take and caſt 'em away: this Man ſome call *Fauſtulus*; others ſay *Fauſtulus* was the Man who brought them up: whoever the Servant was, he put the Children in a ſmall Trough, and went towards the River with a deſign to caſt them in; but ſeeing the Waters flow, and pouring in mighty ſurges upon him, he fear'd to go nigher, but dropping the Children near the Bank, went himſelf off. The River overflowing, the Flood at laſt bore up the Trough, and gently wafting it, landed 'em on a very pleaſant Plain, which they now call *Cermanum*, formerly *Germanum*, perhaps from *Germani*, which ſignifies *Brothers*. Near this Place grew

His Mother.

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a wild Fig-tree, which they call'd *Ruminalis*, either from *Romulus* (as it is vulgarly thought) or from * *Ruminating*, becauſe Cattel did uſually in the heat of the day ſeek Cover under it, and there chew the Cud; or chiefly from the ſuckling of theſe Children there: for the Antients call'd the Dug or Teat of any Creature, *Ruma*, and the tutelar Goddeſs of all young Children they ſtill call *Rumilia*, in ſacrificing to whom they made no uſe of Wine, but Milk. While the Infants lay here, Hiſtory tells us, a ſhe-Wolf nurs'd 'em, and a little * Wood-pecker conſtantly fed and foſter'd 'em: Theſe Creatures are eſteem'd holy to the God *Mars*, and for the Wood-pecker, the *Latins* ſtill egregiouſly worſhip and honour it. Whence it was not altogether incredible what the Mother of the Children ſaid, that ſhe conceiv'd with Child by the God *Mars*, tho they ſay that miſtake was put upon her by *Amulius* himſelf, being by him robb'd of her Honour, who appear'd to her all in Armour, and ſo committed a Rape upon her Body.

* Rumi-nor *ſignifies to chew the Cud.*

* Δρυοκολαπτης.

Others think the firſt riſe of this Fable came from the Childrens Nurſe, purely upon the ambiguity of a word; for the *Latins* not only call'd Wolves, *Lupæ*, but alſo leud and proſtitute Women: And ſuch a one was the Wife of *Fauſtulus*, who nurtur'd theſe Children, *Acca Laurentia*

by Name; to her the *Romans* offer Sacrifices, and to her in the Month *April* the Prieſt of *Mars* does offer up a ſpecial Libation, and they call it the *Laurentian Feaſt*: They honour alſo another *Laurentia* much upon the like occaſion; as thus.

The Keeper of *Hercules*'s Temple having, it ſeems, little elſe to do, propos'd to his Deity a Game at Dice, laying down, that if he himſelf won, he would have ſomething valuable of the God, but if he was beaten, he would ſpread him a Noble Table, and procure withal a fair Lady to lie with him. Upon theſe terms, reckoning firſt the Chances that were thrown for the God, and then for himſelf, he found plainly he had loſt; nevertheleſs being willing Matters ſhould be adjuſted, and thinking it honeſt to ſtick to the Propoſals he made himſelf, he both provided the Deity a good Supper, and ſeeing *Laurentia*, who was a fine Creature, tho not as yet a fam'd Beauty, treated her in the Temple, where he had alſo laid a Bed, and after Supper lock'd her in, as if the God were really to enjoy her: and indeed it is ſaid, the Deity did truly bed the Lady, and commanded her in the Morning to walk the Streets, and whatever Man ſhe met firſt, him to ſalute, and make her Friend. The Man ſhe met was by Name *Tarrutius*, far ſtricken in Years, but

but of a competent ſubſiſtence, without Children, and had always liv'd a ſingle Life: This Man * knew *Laurentia*, and lov'd her well, and at his death left her ſole Heir of all his large and fair Poſſeſſions, moſt of which ſhe in her laſt Will and Teſtament bequeath'd to the People. It was reported of her, being now a celebrated Beauty, and eſteem'd the Miſtreſs of a God, that ſhe ſuddenly diſappear'd near the Place where the firſt *Laurentia* lay buried; the Place is at this day call'd *Velabrum*, becauſe, the River frequently overflowing, they went over in Ferry-Boats much about this Place to the Market, which manner of Waſtage the *Latins* call *Velatura*; others derive the Name from *Velum* a *Veil*, becauſe the Exhibiters of publick Shews, generally making their Proceſſion from the Market-place to the *Circus maximus* (or common Shew-place) did always *veil* that ſpace between. Upon theſe accounts is the ſecond *Laurentia* ſo highly honour'd at *Rome*.

* ἔγνω.

The Children all this while *Fauſtulus*, *Amulius*'s Neat-herd, educated privately from the knowledg of all Men; but, as ſome ſay, and with the greateſt likelihood too, *Numitor* was conſcious all along to the thing, and made allowances under-hand to their Tutors; for it is ſaid, they were at *Gabii* well inſtructed in Letters, and all other Accompliſhments befitting their Birth and

Romulus *his Education.*

Quality. The reaſon of their Names (*Romulus* and *Remus*) was, as you find it in Story, becauſe they were ſeen * ſucking of the Wolf. In their very Infancy, the Noble Structure of their Bodies preſently diſcover'd the natural Greatneſs of their Minds and Thoughts; and when they grew up, they both prov'd of great Bravery and Manhood, attempting all Enterprizes that ſeem'd hazardous, and ſhewing ſtill a Courage altogether undaunted. But *Romulus* ſeem'd rather to excel in Wiſdom, and to have an Underſtanding more adapted to politick Affairs, in his Life and Converſation among his Neighbours, both in feeding his Flock, and managing his Dogs for Hunting; raiſing a great Opinion in all, that he was born rather to Rule and Govern than be a Subject. To their Comrades, nay Inferiors, they were Affable and Courteous; but the King's Servants, his Bayliffs and Overſeers, as being in nothing better Men than themſelves, they deſpis'd and ſlighted, nor were the leaſt concern'd at their Commands and Menaces. They us'd honeſt Paſtimes, and liberal Studies, eſteeming Sloth and Idleneſs not to be commendable, but rather Exerciſes, as Hunting and Running, catching of Robbers, taking of Thieves, and delivering the wrong'd and oppreſſed from Injury. Upon this account they became Famous.

* Ruma *ſignifying a Dug.*

Now

Now there happening a Quarrel betwixt *Numitor*'s and *Amulius*'s Neat-herds, the latter not enduring the driving away of their Cattel by the others, fell foul upon them, and put 'em to flight, and reſcued withal the greateſt part of the prey. At which *Numitor* being highly incens'd, they little regarded it, but reunited their Forces, and picking up a great many needy Fellows and Servants, began a ſeditious and mutinous Riot; and *Romulus* employing himſelf then at a Sacrifice, (for he was a lover of holy Ceremonies and Prophecies) *Numitor*'s Neat-herds meeting with *Remus*, upon a ſmall Journey he was making, fell upon him, and ſome few Blows and Wounds paſſing between them, took *Remus* Priſoner; who being carried before *Numitor*, and there accus'd of Miſdemeanors, he would not puniſh him himſelf, fearing his Brother might be angry, but went to him, and deſir'd Juſtice might be done him, as he was his Brother, and was affronted by his Servants. The Men of *Alba* likewiſe reſenting the thing ill, and thinking the Man diſhonourably us'd, *Amulius* was induced to deliver *Remus* up into *Numitor*'s hands, to uſe him as he thought fit. He therefore took and carried him home, and being ſtruck with admiration of the Youth's Perſon, in proportion and ſtrength of Body exceeding all men, and perceiving in his very Counte-

The occaſion of Romulus *and* Remus *being known.*

nance

nance the Courage and Preſence of his Mind, which ſtood undaunted and unſhaken in his preſent Calamities, and hearing farther all the Enterpriſes and Actions of his Life were anſwerable to what he ſaw of him, but chiefly (as it ſeem'd) God influencing and directing the Inſtruments of great Works, he having a deſire and opportunity to enquire into the truth of him, in gentle Terms, and with a kind Aſpect, raiſing a confidence and hope in him, ask'd him, Who he was, and from whence he was deriv'd. He taking heart, ſpoke thus:

Remus's Speech.

I will, Sir, hide nothing from you, for you ſeem to be of a more Princely Temper than Amulius, *in that you give a hearing, and examine fairly, before you puniſh; but he condemns before the Cauſe is heard. Firſt then, We (for we are Twins) thought our ſelves the Sons of* Fauſtulus *and* Laurentia, *the King's Servants; but ſince we have been accus'd and aſpers'd with Calumnies, and brought in peril of our Lives here before you, we hear great things of our ſelves, the truth whereof will appear from the iſſue of this danger we are in. Our Birth is ſaid to have been Miraculous, our Foſtering and Nurture in our Infancy ſtill more ſtrange; by Birds and Beaſts, to whom we were caſt out, by them were we fed, that is, by the Milk of a Wolf, and the ſmall Morſels of a Woodpecker, as we lay in a little Trough by the ſide of a River: the Trough*

is

is now in being, and is preſerv'd with Braſs Plates round it, and an Inſcription in old obſcure Characters on it, which may prove hereafter but very inſignificant tokens to our Parents, when we are dead and gone. *Numitor*, upon theſe Words, and recollecting the time too, according to the young Man's Looks, ſlighted not the hope that flatter'd him, but took care how to come at his Daughter privately, (for ſhe was ſtill kept under reſtraint) to talk with her concerning theſe Matters.

Fauſtulus hearing *Remus* was taken, and deliver'd up, begg'd *Romulus* to aſſiſt in his reſcue, informing him then plainly of the particulars of his Birth; not but he had before given him ſome hints of it, and told him as much as an attentive Man might make no ſmall Concluſions from it. He himſelf, full of Concern, and fear of not coming in time, took the Trough, and ran inſtantly to *Numitor*; but giving a ſuſpicion to ſome of the King's Centry at his Gate, and being gaz'd upon by 'em, and perplex'd with their impertinent Queſtions, could not but diſcover the Trough under his Cloak. Now by chance there was one among them who was at the expoſing of the Children, and was one employ'd in the Office; he ſeeing the Trough, and knowing it by its Make and Inſcription, gueſs'd at the buſineſs, and without farther

delay

delay telling the King of it, brought in the Man to be examin'd. In theſe many and great Diſtractions, *Fauſtulus* neither approv'd himſelf altogether undaunted, neither was he wholly forc'd out of all: He confeſs'd indeed the Children were alive, but liv'd a great way from *Alba*; that he himſelf was going to carry the Trough to *Ilia*, who had often greatly deſir'd to ſee and handle it, for a Confirmation of the hopes of her Children. As Men generally do, who are troubled in Mind, and act either in Fear or Paſſion, it ſo fell out *Amulius* now did; for he ſent in all haſt a Meſſenger, both otherwiſe an honeſt Man, and a ſure Friend to *Numitor*, which commands to enquire of *Numitor*, whether any Tidings had come to him of the Children, as if they wer in being. Now the Man being come, and ſeeing how little *Remus* wanted of being receiv'd into the Arms and Embraces of *Numitor*, he both ſtrengthned the belief of his hope, and advis'd withal to recover Matters with all expedition, and he himſelf clos'd with 'em, and acted jointly; the ſtrictneſs of time, tho they had been deſirous, did not ſuffer them to demur. For *Romulus* was now drawn very near, and many of the Citizens out of fear and hatred of *Amulius*, revolted to his ſide; beſides he brought great Forces with him, divided into Companies, conſiſting each

each of 100 Men, every Captain carrying a ſmall bundle of Graſs and Shrubs tied to a Pole. The *Latins* call ſuch bundles, *Manipuli*, and from hence it is that in their Armies they call their Captains, *Manipulares*. *Remus* gaining upon the Citizens within, and *Romulus* making Attacks from without, the Tyrant not knowing either what to do, or what expedient to think of for his ſecurity, in that Amazement and Diſtraction was taken and put to Death. *Amulius is ſlain.* Theſe are for the moſt part the Relations of *Fabius* and *Diocles Peparethius*, (who I think is the firſt that writes of the building of *Rome*) which ſome ſuſpect are only fabulous and made Stories; but they ought not wholly to be disbeliev'd, if Men would conſider Fortune, what ſtrange things it ſometimes brings about, and take an eſtimate of the Actions of the *Romans*, how improbable it is they could arrive at this Greatneſs, had they not ſome miraculous Original, attended with great and extraordinary Circumſtances.

Amulius now being dead, and Matters quietly diſpos'd, the two Brothers would neither dwell in *Alba* without Governing there, nor were they willing to take the Government into their own hands, during the Life of their Grandfather. Having therefore deliver'd the Dominion up into his hands, and paid their Mother ſuch Reſpects

The first design of building Rome.

ſpects as their Duty oblig'd 'em to, they reſolv'd to live by themſelves, and build a City in the ſame place where they were in their Infancy brought up: for this was the moſt ſpecious pretence they could make of their departure; tho perhaps it was neceſſary, ſo many ſhoals of Slaves and Fugitives continually flocking to 'em, either to be totally diſſolv'd, by diſperſing them, or elſe to plant a Colony elſewhere with 'em; for that the Inhabitants of *Alba* did not think Fugitives worthy of being receiv'd and incorporated Citizens among them, firſt plainly appear'd, from the Adventure upon their Women, which really was not attempted out of any violent Luſt, but deliberately, purely out of want and neceſſity of lawful Wives, whom they afterwards extreamly lov'd and honour'd.

Not long after the firſt Foundation of the City, they open'd a Sanctuary of Refuge for all Fugitives, which they call'd the Temple of the God *Aſylæus*, where they receiv'd and protected all, delivering none back, either the Servant to his Maſter, the Debtor to his Creditors, or the Murderer into the hands of the Magiſtrate; ſaying it was a Privileg'd Place, and they could ſo maintain it by an Order of the holy Oracle: inſomuch that the City grew preſently very Populous, for they

they ſay, it conſiſted at firſt of no more than a 1000 Houſes. But of that hereafter.

Their minds being fully bent upon building, there aroſe preſently a difference about the Place where. *Romulus* he built a Square of Houſes, which he call'd *Rome*, and would have the City be there; *Remus* laid out a piece of Ground on the *Aventine* Mount, well fortify'd by nature, which was from him call'd *Remonius*, but now *Rignarius*; concluding at laſt to decide the Conteſt by a Divination from a Flight of Birds: and placing themſelves apart at ſome diſtance, to *Remus*, they ſay, appear'd ſix Vultures, to *Romulus* double the Number; others ſay, *Remus* did truly ſee his Number, and that *Romulus* feign'd his, but when *Remus* came to him, that then he did indeed ſee twelve. Hence it is that the *Romans* in their Divinations from Birds, do chiefly regard the Vultur, tho *Herodorus Pontius* relates that *Hercules* was always very joyful when a Vultur appear'd to him upon any Action, for it is a Creature the leaſt hurtful of any, pernicious neither to Corn, Plants, or any Cattel; it preys only upon Carrion, and never kills or hurts any living thing; and as for Birds, it touches not them tho they are dead, as being of its own Species; whereas Eagles, Owls, and

Romulus and Remus differ about the Place.

Hawks,

Hawks, prey upon all their own fellow-Creatures; but *Eſchylus* ſays,

Ὄρνιθος ὄρνις πῶς ἂν ἀγνεύοι φαγών;

What Bird is clean that preys on's fellow-Bird?

Beſides, all other Birds we ſee (as the ſaying is) every day, and they occur continually to our Senſes, but a Vultur is a very rare ſight, and you ſhall ſeldom meet with a Man can tell you how they breed; inſomuch that the rarity and unfrequency of 'em has rais'd an abſurd opinion in ſome, that they come to us from ſome other certain Countries, as Soothſayers judg, whatever happens preternaturally or inſpontaneouſly, to be ſent from God.

When *Remus* knew the Cheat, he was much diſpleas'd; and as *Romulus* was caſting up a Ditch where he deſign'd the Foundation of the City-Wall, ſome pieces of the Work he turn'd to ridicule, others he trampled on and ſpurn'd at: at laſt as he was in contempt skipping over the Work, ſome ſay, *Romulus* himſelf ſtroke him; others, that *Celer*, one of his Companions: However there fell *Remus*; in that Scuffle alſo was *Fauſtulus* ſlain, and *Pliſtinus*, who being *Fauſtulus*'s Brother, Story tells us, help'd to bring up *Romulus*. *Celer* upon this fled inſtantly into *Tuſcany*, and from him

Remus *is ſlain.*

him do the *Romans* call all Men that are ſwift of foot, *Celeres*; and becauſe *Quintus Metellus*, at his Father's Funeral, in a few days time gave the People a Shew of Sword-playing, they admiring his Expedition, gave him the Name of *Celer*.

Romulus, having buried his Brother *Remus*, together with his two Foſter-fathers, on the Mount *Remonius*, fell a building his City; and ſent for Surveyors out of *Tuſcany*, who directed him in all the Ceremonies to be obſerv'd, and inſtructed him, by drawing of Schemes, how every thing ſhould be done. Firſt, They dug a Trench round that which is now the *Comitium*, or Hall of Juſtice; and into it did they ſolemnly throw the firſt Fruits of all things, either good by Cuſtom, or neceſſary by Nature: laſtly, every Man taking a ſmall Turf of Earth of the Country from whence he came, they all threw 'em in promiſcuouſly together. This Trench they call'd *Mundus*, (the whole World) making which their Center, they deſign'd the City in a Circle round it. Then the Founder fitted to a Plow a Brazen Plowſhare, and yoking together a Bull and a Cow, drew himſelf a deep Line or Furrow round the Bounds; the buſineſs of them that follow'd after, was to ſee whatever Earth was thrown up, ſhould be turn'd all inwardly towards the

Romulus *begins to build.*

City, and not to ſlip a Clod that fell outwards. With this Line did they deſcribe the Wall, all within which were the Territories of the City, which they call'd *Pomærium*, from *Poſt murum*, or *Pone mœnia*, by the cutting off or changing ſome Letters; where they deſign'd to make a Gate, there they lifted up the Plow, and left a ſpace for it: whereupon they eſteem the whole Wall as holy, only where the Gates are; for had they adjudged them alſo ſacred, they could not without offence to Religion, have had a free ingreſs and egreſs for the Neceſſaries of human Life, ſome whereof are in themſelves unclean. As for the day they began to build the City, 'tis confeſs'd of all hands to be the 21*ſt* of *April*, and that Day the *Romans* do anniverſarily keep holy, calling it their Country's Birth-day; at firſt, they ſay, they ſacrificed no living Creature on this Day, thinking it very decent and behoveful to celebrate the Feaſt of their Country's Birth-day, purely, and without the ſtain of Blood: nevertheleſs before the City was ever built, there was a Feaſt of the Herdſmen and Shepherds kept on this day, which went by the Name of *Palilia*. But now the *Roman* and *Grecian* Months have little or no Analogy; theſe ſay the Day *Romulus* began to build was infallibly the 30*th* of the Month, at which time there was an Eclipſe of the Moon, which

The Day when.

which happen'd in the 3*d* Year of the *6th Olympiad*, which the *Grecians* imagine *Antimachus* the *Teian* Poet ſaw. In the times of *Varro* the Philoſopher, a Man very well read in *Roman* Hiſtory, liv'd one *Tarrutius*, his familiar Friend and Acquaintance, both a good Philoſopher and a skilful Mathematician, and one too that out of curioſity of Speculation, had ſtudied the way of drawing Schemes and Tables, and ſeem'd to be excellent in the Art: to him *Varro* propounded to caſt *Romulus*'s Nativity, even to the firſt Day and Hour, and to make his Deductions from the ſeveral Events of the Man's Life which he ſhould be inform'd of, as the Solutions of Geometrical Problems do require; for it belongs to the ſame Science both to foretel a Man's Life, by knowing the time of his Birth, and alſo to find out his Birth by the knowledg of his Life. This task *Tarrutius* undertook, and firſt looking into the Actions and Caſualties of the Man, together with the time of his Life and manner of his Death, and then comparing all theſe Remarks together, he very confidently and poſitively pronounc'd, that *Romulus* was conceiv'd in his Mother's Womb, the firſt Year of the 2*d Olympiad*, the 23*d* Day of the Month the *Ægyptians* call *Chæac*, (which may be ſaid to anſwer our *December*) and the 3*d* Hour after Sunſet; that he was born the

21*ſt* Day of the Month *Thoth*, (which is *September*) about Sun-riſing; and that the firſt Stone of *Rome* was laid by him the 9*th* Day of the Month *Pharmuthi*, (*April*) between the 2*d* and 3*d* hour. For, as to the Fortune of Cities, as well as Men, they think they have their certain Periods of time prefixt, which may be collected and foreknown from the Poſitions of the Stars at their firſt Foundation. Theſe and the like Relations may perhaps rather take and delight the Reader with their Novelty and Extravagancy, than offend him becauſe they are fabulous.

He divides the People.

The City now being built, all that were of Age to bear Arms *Romulus* liſted into Military Companies, each Company conſiſting of 3000 Footmen, and 300 Horſe. Theſe Companies were call'd * *Legions*, becauſe they were the choiceſt and moſt *ſelect* of the People for fighting Men; the reſt of the Multitude he call'd [*Populus*] the *People*. A hundred of the moſt eminent Men he choſe for his Counſellors; theſe he ſtil'd *Patricians*, and the whole Body of 'em, the *Senate*, which ſignifies truly a * Conſiſtory of venerable *Old Men*. The *Patricians*, ſome ſay, were ſo call'd, becauſe they were the Fathers of honeſt and lawful Children; others, becauſe they could give a good account who their *Fathers* were, which every one of the Rabble that pour'd into

* *From* Lego, *to Chuſe.*

* Γερουσία.

into the City at firſt could not do; others, from *Patrocinium*, a Patronage, by which they meant an Authority over the common People, and do ſtill, attributing the Origin of the Word to *Patronus*, one of thoſe that came over with *Evander*, a Man ſignal for being a Protector and Defender of the Weak and Needy. But perhaps the moſt probable Judgment might be, that *Romulus* eſteeming it the Duty of the chiefeſt and wealthieſt Men, with a Fatherly Care and Concern, to look after the meaner, and withal encouraging the Commonalty not to dread or be aggriev'd at the Honours of their Superiors, but with all good Will to make uſe of 'em, and to think and call 'em their *Fathers*, might from hence give them the Name of *Patricians*. For at this very time all Foreigners ſtile thoſe that ſit in Council, *Lords* and *Preſidents*: but the *Romans* making uſe of a more honourable and leſs invidious Name, call them *Patres Conſcripti*; at firſt indeed ſimply *Patres*, but afterwards more being added, *Patres Conſcripti*: and by this honourable Title was the *Senate* diſtinguiſh'd from the *Populacy*. The reſt of the wealthier ſort he diſtinguiſh'd from the common People, by calling Them *Patrons*, and Theſe their *Clients*; by which means he created a wonderful Love and Amity betwixt 'em, which begat great Juſtice in their dealings. For

They were always their *Clients* Counſellors in litigious Caſes, their Advocates in Judgments; in fine, their Adviſers and Overſeers in all Affairs whatever. *Theſe* again faithfully ſerv'd their Patrons, not only paying them all reſpect and deference, but alſo, in caſe of Poverty, helping them to place their Children, and pay off their Debts; and for a *Patron* to witneſs againſt his *Client*, or a *Client* againſt his *Patron*, that no Law nor Magiſtrate could enforce. But in after-Times, all other Offices of Equity continuing ſtill between 'em, it was thought a baſe and diſhonourable thing, for the better ſort to take Money from their Inferiors. And ſo much of theſe Matters.

His Stratagem upon the Sabin *Virgins.*

In the 4*th* Month after the City was built, (as *Fabius* writes) the Adventure of ſtealing Women was attempted; and, ſome ſay, *Romulus* himſelf, being naturally a Martial Man, and prediſpoſed too perhaps by ſome certain Oracles, as if the Fates had ordain'd the future Growth and Greatneſs of *Rome* ſhould depend upon the benefit of War, did begin to uſe Violence to the *Sabins*, and that he took away only 30 Virgins, rather to give an occaſion of War, than out of any want of Women; tho this is not very probable, but rather that he obſerving his City preſently fill'd by a Confluence of Foreigners, few of whom had

had Wives, and that the Multitude in general, conſiſting of a mixture of mean and obſcure Creatures, fell under Contempt, and ſeem'd to be of no long continuance together; and hoping farther, after the Women were appeas'd, to make this Injury in ſome meaſure an occaſion of Confederacy and mutual Commerce with the *Sabins*, he took in hand this exploit after this manner: Firſt he gave it out, as if he had found an Altar of a certain God hid under ground, the God they call'd *Conſus*, or the God of *Council*, (for they ſtill call a Conſult, *Conſilium*, and their Chief Magiſtrates, *Conſules*, namely *Counſellors*) this God is *Neptune*, the Inventer of Horſe-riding; for the Altar is kept cover'd in the greater *Cirque* or Tilt-yard at other times, only at Horſe-racing then it appears to publick view; and ſome ſay, it was not without reaſon, that this God had his Altar hid under ground, becauſe all Counſels ought to be ſecret and conceal'd. Upon diſcovery of this Altar, *Romulus* by Proclamation appointed a Day for a ſplendid Sacrifice, and for publick Games and Shews, to entertain all ſorts of People, and many flock'd thither; he himſelf ſat uppermoſt, amidſt his Nobles, clad in Purple. Now the Sign of their falling on was to be, whenever he aroſe and gather'd up his Robe, and threw it over his body; his Men ſtood

all ready arm'd, with their Eyes intent upon him; and when the Sign was given, drawing their Swords, and falling on with a great Shout, raviſh'd away the Daughters of the *Sabins*, they themſelves flying without any let or hindrance: they ſay, there were but 30 taken, and from them were the Tribes or Pariſhes nam'd; but *Valerius Antias* ſays, 527. *Juba*, 683 *Virgins:* which was the greateſt Excuſe *Romulus* made, That they had taken never a married Woman ſave one only, *Herſilia* by Name, and her too unknowingly, which was a means of their Reconciliation. For hence it appear'd, they did not for an Affront or Injury commit this Rape, but with a Deſign purely to join Families, and unite them upon the greateſt and ſureſt Bonds. This *Herſilia*, ſome ſay, *Hoſtilius* married, a moſt eminent Man among the *Romans*; others, *Romulus* himſelf, and that ſhe bare two Children to him, a Daughter, who by reaſon of *Primogeniture* was call'd *Prima*, and one only Son, whom from the great Concourſe of Citizens to him at that time, he call'd *Aollius*, but after-Ages, *Abillius*. But theſe things *Zenodotus* the *Trazænian* writes, which are contradicted by many.

ἀολλῶ, congrego, *to gather together.*

Among thoſe who committed this Rape upon the Virgins, there were, they ſay,

as

as it ſo then happen'd, ſome of the meaner ſort of Men, who were carrying off a Damſel, far excelling all both in Beauty and Comelineſs of Stature, whom, when * ſome Gentlemen that met 'em, attempted to take her from 'em, they cried out, they were carrying her to *Talaſius*, a young Man indeed, but a Brave and Worthy Perſon. Hearing that, they commended and applauded them highly; inſomuch that ſome turning back, accompanied them with great joy and gladneſs, ſhouting and extolling the Name of *Talaſius*. Hence do the *Romans* at this very time at their Weddings ſing *Talaſius* for their Nuptial Word, as the *Greeks* do *Hymenæus*, becauſe, ſay they, this Lady proved a fortunate and happy match to him. But *Sextius Sylla* the *Carthaginian*, a Man wanting neither Learning nor Ingenuity, told me, *Romulus* gave this word as a ſign when to begin the Onſet; every body therefore who made prize of a Virgin, cried out, *Talaſius*; and for that Reaſon the Cuſtom continues ſo now at Marriages. But moſt are of opinion, (of whom *Jubas* particularly is one) this Word was us'd to new married Women, by way of Admoniſhment and Incitement to good Huſwifery, the *Greek* word ταλασία ſignifying *Spinning*, and the *Italian* Words not being then mix'd with the *Greek*. But if this be not falſe,

The reaſon of the word Talaſius *at Weddings.*

* ἔνιοι τῶν κρειττόνων.

falſe, and the *Romans* did at that time uſe the word τελασία, as we *Græcians* do, a Man might fancy a more probable Reaſon of the Cuſtom. For when the *Sabins*, after the War againſt the *Romans*, were reconcil'd, Conditions were made concerning their Women, That they ſhould be obliged to do no other ſervile Offices to their Husbands but what concern'd *Spinning*; it was cuſtomary therefore ever after at Weddings, for thoſe that gave the Bride, or led her, or for any one elſe preſent, ſportingly to ſay *Talaſius*, intimating thereby, how ſhe was now brought to no other Servitude but what was in *Spinning*. Moreover it is a Cuſtom at this very day, for the Bride of her ſelf not to enter her Husband's Threſhold, but to be lifted over, in memory that the *Sabin* Virgins were carried in by violence, and would not enter freely. Some ſay too, the Cuſtom of parting the Bride's Hair with the head of a Spear, was in token their Marriages began at firſt by War, and Acts of Hoſtility; of which I have ſpoken more fully in my Book of *Queſtions*.

This Rape was committed the 18*th* Day of the Month *Sextilis*, which is now *Auguſt*, on which the Solemnities of the *Conſualia* are kept.

The *Sabins* were a numerous and martial People, but liv'd in ſmall unfortified Villages,

Villages, as it became them, who were a Colony of the *Lacedæmonians*, to be naturally of great Courage, and fear nothing; nevertheleſs ſeeing themſelves by great Hoſtages bound up to their good behaviour, and being ſollicitious for their Daughters, they ſent Ambaſſadors to *Romulus*, with fair and equitable Requeſts, that he would return their young Women, and retract that Act of Violence, and afterwards in all Reaſon and Equity eſtabliſh a friendly and neighbourly Correſpondence between both Nations. But *Romulus* would not part with the young Women, yet propos'd to the *Sabins* to enter into an Alliance with 'em: upon which point ſome conſulted and demur'd long; but *Acron* King of the *Ceninenſes*, a Man of great Courage, and well experienced in War, who had all along a jealouſy of *Romulus*'s bold Attempts, and conſidering particularly from this Exploit upon the Women, he would grow formidable to all People, and indeed inſufferable, were he not chaſtiſed, was the firſt that roſe up in Arms, and with a powerful Army made head againſt him. *Romulus* likewiſe prepared to receive him; but when they came within ſight, and viewed each other, they made a Challenge to fight a ſingle Duel, the Armies ſtanding unconcerned by; hereupon *Romulus* prayed and made a Vow to *Jupiter*, if he did conquer

The Ceninenſian's War againſt Romulus.

conquer his Enemy, to dedicate his Adverſary's Armour to his Honour; upon which he both overcame him in Combat, and after Battel was join'd, routed his Army alſo, and then took his City, but did thoſe he found in it no injury, only commanded them to demoliſh the Place, and attend him to *Rome*, there to be made Citizens equally capable of all Privileges: And indeed there was nothing did more advance the Greatneſs of *Rome*, than that ſhe did always unite and incorporate whom ſhe conquer'd into her ſelf. *Romulus*, that he might perform his Vow in the moſt acceptable manner to *Jupiter*, and withal make the Pomp of it delightful to the eye of the City, cut down a tall Oak which he ſaw growing in the Camp, which he adorn'd like a Trophy, and faſten'd thereon *Acron*'s whole Suit of Armour, in its right Symmetry of Parts; then he himſelf girding his Garment about him, and crowning his Head with a Laurel Garland, his Hair gracefully flowing, carried the Trophy lying at length upon his right Shoulder, and ſo march'd on, ſinging Songs of Triumph, and his whole Army following after, the Citizens all receiving him with Acclamations of Joy and Wonder. The Pomp of this Day was the Cauſe, and rais'd the Emulation of all after-Triumphs. This Trophy was dedicated

Are conquered.

cated to *Jupiter* ſirnamed *Feretrius*, from *ferire*, which in *Latin* is *to ſmite*; for *Romulus* pray'd he might ſmite and overthrow his Enemy. Theſe *Opima Spolia*, or Royal Spoils, are ſo call'd (ſays *Varro*) from their Richneſs, which the word *Opes* ſignifies; tho one would more probably conjecture from *Opus*, a *Deed* or *Act*: for when the General of an Army with his own Hand kills his Enemy's General, to him alone is granted the Honour of offering the *Opima ſpolia*, as being the ſole Performer of that *Act* or *Deed* of Bravery. And on three only of the *Roman* Captains did this Honour ever happen to be conferr'd: Firſt on *Romulus*, upon killing *Acron* the *Ceninenſian*; next on *Cornelius Coſſus*, for ſlaying *Volumnius* the *Tuſcan*; and laſtly on *Claudius Marcellus*, upon his conquering *Viridomarus*, King of the *Gauls*. The two latter, *Coſſus* and *Marcellus*, made their Entries in triumphant Chariots, bearing their Trophies themſelves: but that *Romulus* made uſe of a Chariot, *Dionyſius* is in the wrong; for Hiſtory ſays, *Tarquinius*, *Damaratus*'s Son, was the firſt that brought Triumphs to this great Pomp and Grandeur; others, that *Publicola* was the firſt that rode in Triumph: However all the Statues of *Romulus* in Triumph are to be ſeen in *Rome* on Foot.

After

After the Overthrow of the *Ceninenſians*, the *Sabins* ſtill protracting the time in preparations, the People of *Fidena*, *Cruſtumerium*, and *Antemna*, join'd their Forces againſt the *Romans*; Battel was no ſooner joyn'd, but they were likewiſe immediately defeated, and ſurrendred up to *Romulus* their Cities to be ſpoil'd, their Lands and Territories to be divided, and themſelves to be tranſplanted to a Colony at *Rome*. All the Lands which *Romulus* acquir'd, he diſtributed among the Citizens, except only what the Parents of the ſtolen Virgins had, and them he ſuffer'd to poſſeſs their own: The reſt of the *Sabins* being enrag'd hereat, chuſing *Tatius* their Captain, march'd ſtraight againſt *Rome*; the City was almoſt inacceſſible, having for its Fortreſs that which is now the *Capitol*, where a ſtrong Guard was placed; and *Tarpeius* was their Captain, not *Tarpeia* the Virgin, (as ſome ſay, who would make *Romulus* guilty of a fooliſh Action.) But ſtill *Tarpeia*, the Captain's Daughter, coveting the Golden Bracelets ſhe ſaw them wear, betrayed the Fort into the *Sabins* hands, and asked in reward of her Treachery, all they wore on their left Arms. *Tatius* conditioning thus with her, in the night ſhe open'd one of the Gates, and received the *Sabins* in: And truly (for ought I ſee) it is not *Antigonus* alone that ſaid

The Sabins *beſiege* Rome.

Tarpeia *betrays it.*

ſaid, *He lov'd Betrayers, but hated them after they had betray'd*; nor *Cæſar*, when he told *Rhymitacles* the *Thracian*, that *He lov'd the Treaſon, but hated the Traitor.* But it is a general kind of Affection all Men, who have occaſion for wicked Perſons, bear towards them; much ſuch as they have for venomous Creatures, when they ſtand in need of their Poiſon and Gall; for as they love them while they are of uſe, ſo they abhor their ill qualities when that is over. And thus did *Tatius* behave himſelf towards *Tarpeia*; for he commanded the *Sabins*, in regard to their Contract, not to refuſe her the leaſt part of what they wore on their left Arms: upon that he himſelf firſt took his Bracelet off his Arm, and threw that, together with his Buckler, at her; and all the reſt following, ſhe, being born down and quite ſmother'd with the multitude of Gold and their Shields, died under the great weight and preſſure of them: nay, *Tarpeius* himſelf being proſecuted by *Romulus*, was found guilty of Treaſon, as *Juba* ſays, *Sulpitius Galba* relates. Thoſe who write otherwiſe concerning *Tarpeia*, as that ſhe was the Daughter of *Tatius* the *Sabin* Captain, and being forcibly detain'd by *Romulus*, acted and ſuffer'd thus by her Father's contrivance, ſpeak very abſurdly: Of whom *Antigonus* is one; but

And is kill'd in recompence.

Smylus,

Smylus, the Poet, of all Men, who thinks *Tarpeia* betrayed the *Capitol* not to the *Sabins*, but the *Gauls*, having fallen in Love with their King, does plainly dote. Thus he writes:

Tarpeia *'twas, who dwelling close thereby,*
Open'd the Walls of Rome *to th' Enemy.*
She hot in lust of the besieging Gaul,
Betray'd the City's Strength, the Capitol.

And a little after speaking of her Death:

But yet the Gauls, *that strong and numerous Foe,*
Drown'd not the Traitress in the Waves of Po,
But, with their Shields thrown on, her Body overlaid,
So died, and was entomb'd at once the wretched Maid.

Tarpeia afterwards was buried there, and the Hill from her was call'd *Tarpeius*, until the Reign of King *Tarquin*, who dedicated the Place to *Jupiter*; at which time her Bones were removed, and so it lost her Name, except only that part of the *Capitol* which they still call the * *Tarpeian Rock*, from whence they are wont to cast down headlong Malefactors.

* Tarpeia Rupes.

The

The *Sabins* being poſſeſs'd of the Hill, *Romulus* in great fury offer'd them Battel, and *Tatius* put on the Courage to accept it, perceiving, if they were ſo conſtrain'd, where he might make a ſecure Retreat. The Level in the middle, where they were to join Battel, being ſurrounded with many little Hills, ſeem'd to enforce both Parties to a ſmart and deſperate Conflict, by reaſon of the Difficulties of the Place, which had but a few narrow Outlets, inconvenient either for refuge or purſuit. It happen'd too, the River having overflow'd not many days before, there was left behind in the Plain, where now the Market ſtands, a deep blind Mud and Slime, which tho it did not appear much to the eye, and was not eaſily avoided, yet at bottom was very deceitful and dangerous: upon which the *Sabins* being unwarily about to enter, had good luck befel them; for *Curtius*, a Gallant Man, eager of Honour, and of aſpiring thoughts, being mounted on Horſe-back, gallop'd a good diſtance before the reſt, but his Horſe was mired, and he endeavour'd a while by Whip and Spur to diſintangle him; but finding it impoſſible, he quitted his Horſe, and ſaved himſelf; the Place from him to this very time is call'd the *Curtian Lake.* The *Sabins* having eſcaped this danger, began the Fight

The Sabins and Romans fight.

very ſmartly, the fortune of the day being very dubious, tho many were ſlain; amongſt whom was *Hoſtilius*, who, they ſay, was Husband to *Herſilia*, and Grandfather to that *Hoſtilius* who reign'd after *Numa*. It is probable there were many other Battels in a ſhort time after, but the moſt memorable was the laſt; in which *Romulus* having receiv'd a Wound on his Head by a Stone, and being almoſt fell'd to the ground by it, and diſabled to ſuſtain the Enemy, the *Romans* upon that yielded ground, and being driven out of the Field, fled to the *Palatium*. *Romulus* by this time recovering his Wound a little, running upon his Men in Flight, remanded them to their Arms again, and with a loud Voice encourag'd them to ſtand and fight. But being overpower'd with the number, and no body daring to face about, he ſtretching out his Hands to Heaven, pray'd to *Jupiter* to ſtop the Army, and not to neglect but rather maintain the *Roman* Cauſe, which was now in extream Danger. This Prayer both wrought a great Reverence in many for their Prince, and a ſtrange reſolution too on the ſudden in their Minds. The Place they firſt ſtood at, was, where now is the Temple of *Jupiter Stator*, (which may be interpreted the *Stayer*) there they rallied their Forces, and repuls'd the *Sabins* even to the Place call'd

now

now *Rhegia*, and the *Temple* of *Veſta*; where both Parties preparing to renew the Fight, were prevented by a ſtrange and unexpreſſible ſight: for the Daughters of the *Sabins* which were formerly ſtolen, came running in great confuſion, ſome on this ſide, ſome on that, with miſerable Cries and Lamentations, like diſtracted Creatures, into the midſt of the Army, and among the dead Bodies, to come at their Husbands, and at their Fathers: ſome with their young Babes in their Arms, others their Hair looſe about their Ears, but all calling now upon the *Sabins*, then upon the *Romans*, in the moſt tender and endearing Words. Hereupon both melted into compaſſion, and fell back, that they might ſtand betwixt the Armies. Now did a ſtrange lamentation ſeize all, and great grief was conceiv'd at the ſight of the Women, and at their Speech much more, which from Expoſtulations and high words, ended in Entreaties and Supplications.

Are parted by the Women.

Wherein (ſay they) *have we injur'd or offended you, that we formerly have, and now do ſuffer under theſe Calamities? We were raviſh'd away unjuſtly and violently by thoſe whoſe now we are; that being done, we were ſo long neglected by our Fathers, our Brethren, and Countrymen, that time, having now by the ſtricteſt bands united us to thoſe whom*

we once mortally hated, has brought it about, that the very Men, who once uſed violence to us, we now have a tenderneſs for in War, and lament their deaths. So that you do not now come to vindicate our Honour, as Virgins, from them that injured us, but to force away Wives from their Husbands, and Mothers from their Children; making this your reſcue more grievous to us Wretches, than your former betraying and neglect of us was; ſo great is their *Love towards us, and ſuch* your *Compaſſion: if you make War upon any other occaſion, for our ſakes you ought to deſiſt, who are our Fathers, our Grandfathers, our Relations, and Kindred; if for us, take us and your Sons-in-law, and reſtore us to our Parents and Kinsfolk, but do not rob us (we humbly beſeech you) of our Children and Husbands, leſt we again become Captives.* *Herſilia* having ſpoken many ſuch words as theſe, and others earneſtly praying, a Truce was made, and the chief Officers came to a Treaty: the Women, during that time, brought and preſented their Husbands and Children to their Fathers and Brethren, gave thoſe that would eat, Meat and Drink; and carried the wounded home to be cured; and ſhewed alſo how much they govern'd within doors, and how indulgent their Huſbands were to 'em, in demeaning themſelves towards 'em with all kindneſs and reſpect

reſpect imaginable. Upon this, Conditi- *A Peace made.*
ons were agreed upon, that what Women pleas'd might ſtay where they were, exempt from all drudgery and labour but Spinning; that the *Romans* and *Sabins* ſhould inhabit the City promiſcuouſly together; that the City ſhould be call'd *Rome* from *Romulus*, but the *Romans*, *Quirites*, from the Country of *Tatius*; and that they both ſhould govern and command in common: The Place of this Ratification is ſtill call'd *Comitium*, from *Coire* to *agree*. The City being thus dou- *The City ſettled.*
bled in number, an 100 of the *Sabins* were elected *Senators*, and the Legions were increas'd to 6000 Foot, and 600 Horſe: then they divided the People into three Tribes; the firſt, from *Romulus*, were named *Rhamenſes*; the ſecond, from *Tatius*, *Tatienſes*; the third were call'd *Luceres*, from the *Lucus* or Grove where the *Aſylum* ſtood, whither many fled for Sanctuary, and were received into the City. And that they were juſt three, the very Name of *Tribe* and *Tribune* does teſtify; each *Tribe* contained then ten *Curiæ* or *Wards*, which, ſome ſay, took their Names from the *Sabine* Women; but that ſeems to be falſe, becauſe many had their Names from different Regions. Tho, 'tis true, they then conſtituted many things in honour to the Women: As to give them the

way where-ever they met them; to ſpeak no ill Word in their Preſence; nor to appear naked before them; that they ſhould not be ſummon'd into Court before a Judg ſitting on Caſes of Blood; that their Children ſhould wear an Ornament about their Necks call'd the *Bulla*, (becauſe it was like a *Bubble*) and the *Prætexta*, a Garment edged with Purple.

The Princes did not immediately join in Council together, but at firſt each met with his own Hundred, afterwards all aſſembled together. *Tatius* dwelt where now the Temple of *Moneta* ſtands; and *Romulus* cloſe by the * *Steps*, as they call them, of the *fair Shore*, near the deſcent from the *Mount Palatine* to the *Circus Maximus*. There, they ſay, grew the *Holy-Cornel-Tree*, of which they report, that *Romulus* once to try his ſtrength, threw a Dart from the *Aventine Mount*, (the Staff of which was made of *Cornel*) which ſtruck ſo deep into the Ground, that no one, of many that tried, could pluck it up: Now the Soil, being fertil, nouriſh'd the Wood, and ſent forth Branches, and produced a Trunk of conſiderable bigneſs. This did Poſterity preſerve and worſhip as one of the moſt Sacred things, and therefore wall'd it about; and if to any one it appear'd not green nor flouriſhing, but inclining to fade and wither, he preſently

* Ἐπὶ τὰ βαθμὰς καλῆς ἀπαχθῆς.

ſently made outcry to all he met, and they with one accord cried for Water, as in a Fire, and would run from all Parts with Buckets full to the place. But, they ſay, when *Caius Cæſar* was repairing the Steps about it, ſome of the Labourers digging too cloſe, the Root corrupted, and the Tree quite withered.

The riſe of ſeveral Cuſtoms and Feaſts.

The *Sabins* received the uſe of *Roman* Months: of which, what-ever is remarkable, is mention'd in the Life of *Numa*. *Romulus* again took up their manner of Shields, for which he exchanged both his own and all the *Roman*'s Armour, who before wore ſmall Targets after the manner of the *Argives*. But for Feaſts and Sacrifices, they partaked of them in common, not aboliſhing any either Nation obſerv'd before, and inſtituting ſeveral new ones: Of which one was the *Metronalia*, inſtituted in Honour of the Women, for their diſſolving the War; as likewiſe the *Carmentalia*: This *Carmenta*, ſome think a *Deſtiny* preſiding over the Generation of Men, wherefore Mothers much revere and worſhip her. Others ſay, ſhe was the Wife of *Evander* the *Arcadian*, being a Propheteſs, and wont to deliver her Oracles in Verſe; and from *Carmen* a Verſe, was call'd *Carmenta*, whereas it is generally confeſs'd her proper Name was *Nicoſtrata*. Others more probably derive *Carmen-*

ta from *Carens mente*, as being bereft of her Wits, by reaſon of her wild Enthuſiaſms. Of the Feaſt of *Palilia*, we have ſpoke before. The *Lupercalia*, by the time of its Celebration, may ſeem to be a Feaſt of *Purification*, for it is ſolemniz'd on the *Dies nefaſti*, or *non-Court days* of the month *February*, which a Man may interpret *Purifying*; and the very day of the Feaſt was antiently call'd *Februaca:* But the Name of it in *Greek* ſignifies as much as the Feaſt
* Λύκεια. of * Wolves; and it ſeems upon this account to be of great Antiquity, and brought in by the *Arcadians* who came with *Evander*. But this is a trivial Fancy, for it may come as well from the Wolf that nurſed *Romulus*; and we ſee the *Luperci*, the Prieſts, do begin their Courſe from the place where they ſay *Romulus* was expoſed. But the Ceremonies that then paſs, render the Original of the thing more difficult to be gueſs'd at; for there are Goats kill'd, then two young Noblemen's Sons being brought, ſome are to ſtain their Foreheads with the bloody Knife, others preſently to wipe it off with Wool dipt in Milk; then the young Boys muſt laugh after their Foreheads are wiped; that done, having cut the Goats skins into Thongs, they run about naked, only with ſomething about their middle, laſhing all they meet; the young Wives do

do never avoid their ſtrokes, fancying it does help Conception and Child-birth. Another thing is proper to this Feaſt, for the *Luperci* to ſacrifice a Dog. *Butas*, a certain Poet, who writ a fabulous account of the *Roman* Cuſtoms in Elegies, ſays, that *Romulus*, after the Conqueſt of *Amulius*, ran joyfully to the Place where the Wolf gave them Suck, and that in imitation of that, this Feaſt was, and that two young Noblemen ran;

Striking at all, as when from Alba *Town,*
Romulus *and* Remus *with their Swords did run:*

And that the bloody Knife applied to their Foreheads, was a ſign of the danger they were then in of being ſlain; and the cleanſing of them in Milk, was in remembrance of their Food and Nouriſhment. But *Caius Aulius* writes, that before the City was built, the Cattel of *Romulus* and *Remus* on a day going aſtray, they, praying to the God *Faunus*, ran about to ſeek them naked, that they might not be troubled with Sweat, and that for that Reaſon the *Luperci* run naked. And if this Sacrifice be by way of Purification, a Man might gueſs they uſed a Dog for that very purpoſe; for the *Græcians* in their Luſtrations, or Sacrifices of Purging, do carry out

out Dogs, and evermore uſe that Ceremony they call, περισκυλακισμὸς, or a Sacrificing of a Dog. But if they perform this as an act of Gratitude to the Wolf, that nouriſh'd and preſerv'd *Romulus*, they do not abſurdly in killing a Dog, as being an Enemy to Wolves, unleſs it is perhaps for hindring the *Luperci* when they run.

They ſay too, *Romulus* was the firſt that conſecrated Holy Fire, and inſtituted Holy Virgins, call'd *Veſtals*; others aſcribe it to *Numa Pompilius:* nevertheleſs they write, *Romulus* was otherwiſe eminently Religious, and well-skill'd in the Art of Prophecying, and upon that carried a *Lituus*, which is a crooked Rod, wherewith the Soothſayers deſcribe the Quarters of the Heavens. This of his, being kept in the *Palatium*, was loſt when the City was taken by the *Gauls*; and afterwards, that barbarous People being driven out, was found in the Ruins under a great heap of Rubbiſh, untouch'd by the Fire, all things about it being conſumed and burnt. He conſtituted alſo certain Laws, one whereof is ſomewhat ſevere, which ſuffers not a Wife to leave her Husband, but grants a Husband to turn off his Wife, either upon poiſoning her Children, or counterfeiting his Keys, or Adultery; but if the Husband upon any other occaſion put her away, he ordered one

one moiety of his Eſtate to be given to the Wife, the other to fall to the Goddeſs *Ceres*; and who-ever did caſt off his Wife, to make an Atonement by Sacrifice to the ‖*Gods of the Earth.* This too is obſervable as a ſingular thing in *Romulus*, that he appointed no real Puniſhment for real Parricide, but call'd all Murder ſo, thinking the latter a deteſtable Sin, but the other impoſſible; and for a long time he ſeem'd to have rightly thought ſuch a Sin could never be, for in almoſt 600 Years together no Body committed the like in *Rome*; and *Lucius Oſtius*, after the Wars of *Hannibal*, is recorded to have been the firſt Parricide. But let thus much ſuffice concerning theſe Matters.

‖ χθονίοις Θεοῖς.

In the 5*th* Year of the Reign of *Tatius*, ſome of his Friends and Kinſmen meeting Ambaſſadors coming from *Laurentum* to *Rome*, attempted on the Road to take away their Mony by force; which they not ſuffering, but defending themſelves, they kill'd them. So great a Villany being acted, *Romulus* thought it fitting preſently to puniſh the Malefactors; but *Tatius* ſhuffled off and defer'd the Execution of it: and this only thing was the firſt beginning of an open Quarrel betwixt them, for otherwiſe they carried themſelves fairly one to another, and adminiſtred Affairs together with the greateſt Unanimity.

The occaſion of the death of Tatius.

The

The Relations of them that were ſlain, being debar'd of Juſtice by reaſon of *Tatius*, fell upon him as he was ſacrificing with *Romulus* at *Lavinium*, and ſlew him, commending and extolling *Romulus* for a juſt Prince. *Romulus* took the Body of *Tatius*, and buried it very ſplendidly in the *Aventine Mount*, near the place call'd *Armiluſtrium*, but altogether neglected revenging his Murder. Some Authors write, the City of *Laurentum*, fearing the conſequence, deliver'd up the Murderers of *Tatius*; but *Romulus* paſs'd it over, ſaying, One Murder was requited with another. This gave occaſion of Talk and Jealouſy, as if he were well pleas'd at the removal of his Copartner in the Government. Nothing of theſe things either diſturbed or rais'd any Feud among the *Sabins*; but ſome out of love to him, others out of fear of his Power, ſome again reverencing him as a God, they all lived peacefully in admiration and awe of him; many foreign Nations too did much admire *Romulus*; the antient *Latins* ſent, and enter'd into League and Confederacy with him. *Fidenæ* he took, a neighbouring City to *Rome*, by a Party of Horſe, as ſome ſay, whom he ſent before with Commands to cut down the Hinges of the Gates, and he himſelf afterwards unexpectedly came upon them. Others ſay, they having firſt made the Invaſion,

BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

Romulus *takes* Fidenæ.

vaſion, in foraging and ſpoiling the Country and Suburbs, *Romulus* lay in Ambuſh for them, and ſo having kill'd many of their Men, took the City; nevertheleſs he did not raze or demoliſh it, but made it a *Roman* Colony, and ſent thither on the Ides of *April* 2500 Inhabitants. Preſently after a Plague broke out, which kill'd ſuddenly without any manner of Sickneſs; it infected alſo the Corn with Unfruitfulneſs, and Cattel with Barrenneſs: there rained Blood too in the City, inſomuch as beſides the Evils which came of conſequence, Men dreaded the Wrath of the Gods. But when the ſame Miſchiefs fell upon *Laurentum*, then every Body judged it was Divine Vengeance that fell upon both Cities, for the neglect of executing Juſtice upon the Murder of *Tatius* and the Ambaſſadors. But the Murderers on both ſides being deliver'd up and puniſh'd, the Peſtilence viſibly abated, and *Romulus* purified the Cities with Luſtrations, which, they ſay, even now are perform'd at the Gate call'd *Ferentina*. But before the Plague ceaſed, the *Camerians* invaded the *Romans*, and over-ran the Country, thinking, by reaſon of the Diſtemper, they were unable to withſtand them; but *Romulus* preſently made Head againſt them, and gain'd the Victory, with the ſlaughter of 6000 Men: he then took their City, and brought

A Plague at Rome.

Cameria *is taken.*

brought half of them he found there to *Rome*, and ſent from *Rome* to *Cameria* double the number he left there. This was done the firſt of *Auguſt*; ſo many Citizens had he to ſpare, in 16 years time he inhabited *Rome*. Among other Spoils he took a brazen Chariot from *Cameria*, which he placed in the Temple of *Vulcan*, adding thereon his own Statue crown'd with Victory.

The *Roman* Cauſe thus daily gathering ſtrength, the weaker Neighbours ſubmitted, and willingly embrac'd ſecurity; the ſtronger, out of Fear or Envy, thought they ought not to give way to *Romulus*, but to curb him, and put a ſtop to his Greatneſs. The firſt were the *Veientes*, a People of *Tuſcany*, who had large Poſſeſſions, and dwelt in a ſpacious City; they took an occaſion to commence a War, upon remanding of *Fidenæ*, as belonging to them. This was not only unreaſonable, but very ridiculous, that they who did not aſſiſt them in the greateſt Extremities of War, but permitted them to be ſlain, ſhould challenge their Lands and Houſes, when in the hands of others. But being ſcornfully retorted upon by *Romulus* in his Anſwers, they divided themſelves into two Bodies: with one they attack'd the Gariſon of *Fidenæ*, the other march'd againſt *Romulus*; that which went

The Veientes ſubdued.

went againſt *Fidenæ*, got the Victory, and ſlew 2000 *Romans*; the other was worſted by *Romulus*, with the loſs of 8000 Men. They afterwards fought near *Fidenæ*, and all Men acknowledg the greateſt Actions of the day were done by *Romulus* himſelf, who ſhewed all manner of Skill as well as Courage, and ſeem'd to perform with ſtrength and ſwiftneſs more than human. But what ſome write, that of 14000 who fell that day, above half were ſlain by *Romulus*'s own hand, is both very fabulous, and altogether incredible: Such an Oſtentation do the *Meſſenians* make of *Ariſtomenes*, who, they ſay, offer'd 300 Victims for as many *Lacedæmonians* he himſelf ſlew. The Army being thus routed, *Romulus* ſuffering thoſe that were left to make their eſcape, drew up his Forces againſt the City; they, having ſuffer'd ſuch great damages, did not venture to oppoſe him, but humbly ſuing to him, contracted a League and Friendſhip for 100 years: but he nevertheleſs diveſted them of a great quantity of Lands, call'd *Septimagium*, which was the *7th* part of their Patrimony, as alſo of ſeveral Salt-ſprings upon the River; and took fifty Noblemen for Hoſtages. He made his Triumph for this on the *Ides* of *October*, leading, among the reſt of his many Captives, the General of the *Veientes*,

tes, an antient Man, but one who ſeem'd to have managed his Affairs imprudently, and unbecoming his Age; whence even now in Sacrifices for Victories, they lead an Old Man through the Market-place to the *Capitol*, apparel'd in Purple, with a *Bulla* or Child's Toy tied to it, and the Crier cries, *Sardianians* to be ſold; for the *Tuſcans* are ſaid to be a Colony of the *Sardianians*, and the *Veientes* are a City of *Tuſcany*.

This was the laſt Battel *Romulus* ever fought; afterwards he, as moſt, nay all Men, very few excepted, do, who are raiſed by great and miraculous good-haps of Fortune to Power and Greatneſs: So, I ſay, did he; for relying upon his own great Actions, and growing of an haughtier Mind, he forſook his popular Behaviour, and took upon him in exchange a ſtrange Lordlineſs, which was odious and intolerable to the People. And firſt, upon the Habit he choſe to wear; for he dreſs'd in Scarlet with Purple Robes over it; then he gave Audience in a Chair of State, having always about him ſome young Boys call'd * *Celeres*, from their ſwiftneſs in doing Buſineſs: there went before him others with Staves to make room, with ſeveral Cords about them, preſently to bind whom ever he commanded. Now the *Latins* formerly uſed *ligare*, as now *alligare*,

Romulus *grows inſolent.*

* Celer, *ſwift.*

gare, to *bind*, whence the *Lictors* were ſo call'd, and the Rods they carried were called *Faſces*; but it is probable they were firſt call'd *Litores*, afterwards by putting in a C, *Lictores*, for they are the ſame the *Grecians* call λειτουργὸς, or Officers for the People; and the *Grecians* do ſtill call the People in general, λήϊτον, and the common People, λαός.

When after the Death of his Grandfather *Numitor* in *Alba*, that Kingdom devolv'd upon *Romulus*, he put the Government into the Hands of Magiſtrates, and elected yearly one to ſuperintend the *Sabins*. But that taught the Senators of *Rome* to ſeek after a Free and Anti-monarchical State, wherein all might ſhare in the Rule and Government: For the *Patricians* (as they call them) were not now concern'd in State-Affairs, only had the Name and Title left them, convening in Council rather for Faſhion-ſake than Advice; where they in ſilence heard the King's Commands, and ſo departed, exceeding the Commonalty only in this, that they heard firſt what was done. Theſe and the like were Matters of ſmall moment; but when he of his own accord parted among his Soldiers what Lands were acquired by War, and reſtored the *Veientes* their Hoſtages, the Senate neither conſenting nor approving of it, then *Offends the Senate.*

indeed he ſeem'd to put a great Affront upon them; whereupon, he ſuddenly diſappearing a ſhort while after, the Senate fell under ſhrewd Suſpicions and Calumnies. He diſappear'd on the *Nones* of *July*, as they now call the Month, which was then *Quintilis*, leaving nothing of Certainty to be related of his Death, only the time as you hear: For there are now upon that Day many Ceremonies perform'd in reſemblance of that Misfortune. Neither is this Uncertainty to be thought ſtrange, ſeeing the manner of the Death of *Scipio Africanus*, who died at his own home after Supper, is neither much credited nor diſprov'd: for, ſome ſay, he died eaſily and ſuddenly, as it were of his own accord, being naturally a ſickly Man; others, that he poiſon'd himſelf; others again, that his Enemies breaking in upon him in the Night, ſtifled him. *Scipio* too when he was dead, lay open to be ſeen of all, and indeed his Body gave ſome Suſpicion, and a reaſonable Diſcovery of the Fact; but of *Romulus*, when he vaniſh'd, was neither the leaſt part of his Body, or rag of his Clothes to be ſeen: So that ſome fancied, the Senators having fallen upon him, cut his Body into pieces, and each took a part away in his Boſom; others think, his Diſappearance was neither in the *Temple* of *Vulcan*, nor with the Senators only by; but that

Dies.

Several Opinions of his Death.

that it happen'd, as he was haranguing the People without the City, near a Place call'd the * *Goats-Marſh*, on the ſudden moſt wonderful Diſorders and Alterations beyond Expreſſion aroſe in the Air; for the Face of the Sun was darkned, and the Day was turn'd into an unquiet and turbulent Night, made up of terrible Thunderings and boiſterous Winds, raiſing Tempeſts from all Quarters, which ſcattered the Rabble and made them fly, but the Senators kept cloſe together. The Tempeſt being over, and the Light breaking out, when the People gather'd again, they miſs'd and enquir'd for their King; but the Senators would not let them ſearch, or buſy themſelves about the Matter, but commanded them to honour and worſhip *Romulus*, as one taken up to the Gods, and about to be to them, of a good Prince, now a propitious God. The Multitude hearing this, went away rejoycing and worſhipping him, in hopes of good things from him; but there were ſome who canvaſſing the Matter more ſeverely and rigorouſly, accus'd and aſpers'd the *Patricians*, as Men that perſuaded the People to believe ridiculous Tales, when they themſelves were the Murderers of the King. Things being in this Diſorder, one, they ſay, of the *Patricians*, of a noble Family, and moſt honeſt Converſation, and withal

* Ἄγριος ἕλος.

Julius Proculus *decides the Matter.*

a moſt faithful and familiar Friend of *Romulus* himſelf, who came with him from *Alba*, *Julius Proculus* by Name, ſtepping into the Company, and taking a moſt ſacred Oath, proteſted before them all, that *Romulus* appear'd to, and met him travelling on the Road, comelier and fairer than ever, dreſs'd in ſhining and flaming Armour; and he being affrighted at the Apparition, ſaid, *Upon what Occaſion or Reſentments, O King, did you leave us here, liable to moſt unjuſt and wicked Surmiſes, and the whole City deſtitute, in moſt bitter Sorrow?* And that he made Anſwer: *It pleas'd the Gods, O* Proculus, *we ſhould remain ſo long a time amongſt Men as we did, and having built a City, the greateſt in the World both in Empire and Glory, we ſhould again return to Heaven; but farewel, and tell the* Romans, *that by the exerciſe of Temperance and Fortitude, they ſhall far exceed all Human Power, and we will be to you the propitious God* Quirinus. This ſeem'd very credible to the *Romans*, both upon the Honeſty and Oath of him that ſpoke it; and a certain Divine Paſſion, like an Enthuſiaſm, ſeized on all Men, for no Body contradicted it: but laying aſide all Jealouſies and Detractions, they prayed to *Quirinus*, and ſaluted him God.

This is like ſome of the *Grecian* Fables of *Ariſteas* the *Proconneſian*, and *Cleomedes* the

the *Aſtypalæian:* for, they ſay, *Ariſteas* died in a Fuller's Work-houſe, and, his Friends coming to him, his Body vaniſh'd; and that ſome preſently after coming a Journey, ſaid, they met him travelling towards *Croton*; and that *Cleomedes* being an extraordinary ſtrong and gigantick Man, and withal crazed and mad, committed many deſperate Freaks. At laſt in a certain School-houſe, ſtriking a Pillar that ſuſtain'd the Roof with his Fiſt, broke it in the middle, ſo the Houſe fell and deſtroyed the Children in it; and being purſued, he fled into a great Cheſt, and ſhutting to the Lid, held it ſo faſt, that many Men with all their ſtrength could not force it open: afterwards breaking the Cheſt to pieces, they found no Man in it alive or dead, at which being aſtoniſh'd, they ſent to conſult the Oracle at *Delphi*, to whom the Propheteſs made this Anſwer:

Of all the Heroes, Cleomede *is laſt.*

They ſay too, the Body of *Alomena*, as ſhe was carrying to her Grave, vaniſh'd, and a Stone was found lying on the Bier; and many ſuch Improbabilities do your fabulous Writers relate, deifying Creatures naturally mortal: tho altogether to diſown a Divine Power, is an unholy and diſinge-

nuous thing; ſo again to mix Heaven and Earth, is as ridiculous: therefore we muſt reject ſuch Vanities, being aſſur'd that, according to *Pindar*,

All human Bodies yield to Death's Decree,
The Soul ſurvives to all Eternity.

For that alone is deriv'd from the Gods, thence it comes, and thither it returns; not with the Body, but when it is moſt free and ſeparated from it, and is altogether pure and clean, and diſengag'd from the fleſh: for the dry Soul (as *Heraclitus* phraſes it) is beſt, which flies out of the Body, as Lightning breaks from a Cloud; but that which is clogg'd and incumber'd with the Body, is like a groſs and cloudy Vapour, hard to be kindled and mount on high. We muſt not therefore, contrary to Nature, ſend the Bodies too of good Men to Heaven; but again we muſt really believe that, according to a Divine Nature and Juſtice, their virtuous Souls are tranſlated out of Men into Heroes; out of Heroes into Demi-Gods; out of Demi-Gods, (if they are, as by expiation, perfectly purg'd and ſanctified, and disburden'd of all Paſſions attending Mortality) they are, not as in any human Polity alter'd, but really and according to right Reaſon, chang'd and tranſlated into Gods,

Gods, receiving the greateſt and moſt bleſſed Perfection.

Romulus his ſirnàme *Quirinus*, ſome ſay, ſignifies as much as *Mars* or *Warlike*; others, that he was ſo call'd, becauſe the Citizens were call'd *Quirites*; others, becauſe the Antients call'd a Dart or Spear *Quiris*; for the Statue of *Juno* placed on a Spear was call'd *Quiritis*, and the Dart in the King's Palace was call'd *Mars*; and thoſe that behav'd themſelves valiantly in War, were uſually preſented with a Dart, and that therefore *Romulus* being a *Martial* God, or a God of *Darts*, was call'd *Quirinus*; and there is a Temple built to his Honour on a Mount, call'd from him *Quirinalis*. *Why* Romulus *was call'd* Quirinus.

The day he vaniſh'd on, is call'd the *Flight of the Rabble*, or the * *Nones of the Goats*, becauſe they go then out of the City, and ſacrifice at the *Goats-Marſh*; and as they go, they call out loudly upon the Names of ſome of their Compatriots, as *Marcellus* and *Caius*, imitating how they then fled, and call'd upon one another in that Fright and Hurry. Some ſay, this was not in imitation of a Flight, but of a quick and haſty Onſet, giving this account of it: After the *Gauls*, who had taken *Rome*, were driven out by *Camillus*, and the City had not as yet recover'd her Strength; many of the *Latins*, under the Command

* Νόναι Καπρατίναι.

of *Livius Poſthumius*, took this time to march againſt her. The Army ſitting down before *Rome*, an Herald was ſent, ſignifying that the *Latins* were deſirous to renew their former Alliance and Affinity (that was now almoſt decayed) by contracting new Marriages between both Nations; if therefore they would ſend forth a good number of their Virgins and Widows, they ſhould ſettle into a Peace and Friendſhip, as they formerly did with the *Sabins* upon the like Conditions. The *Romans* hearing this, they both dreaded a War, yet thought a Surrender of their Women little better than a mere Captivity. Being in this doubt, a Servant-Maid, call'd *Philotis* (or as ſome ſay, *Teutola*) adviſ'd them to do neither, but rather, by a Stratagem, both to avoid fighting, and the giving up of ſuch Pledges. The Stratagem was this, that they ſhould ſend her, with a Company of handſom Wenches well dreſs'd to the Enemy, inſtead of Free-born Virgins; and ſhe would in the Night light up a Torch, at which the *Romans* ſhould come arm'd and ſurprize them aſleep. The *Latins* were thus deceiv'd, and accordingly *Philotis* ſet up a Torch in a wild *Fig-tree*, skreening it behind with Curtains and Coverlets from the ſight of the Enemy: But it was plain to the *Romans*; when they ſaw it, they ran furi-

ouſly

ouſly together out of the Gates, haſtening one another what they could; ſo falling in unexpectedly upon the Enemy, they defeated them. Upon that they made a Feaſt of Triumph, call'd the *Nones of the Goats*, becauſe of the wild Fig-Tree, call'd by the *Romans Caprificus*, or the Goat-Fig; and they feaſt the Women without the City in Arbors made of Fig-Tree Boughs, and the Maids meet and run about playing: afterwards they fight in Sport, and throw Stones one at another, in memory they did then aid and aſſiſt the *Roman* Men in Fight. This many Authors do not admit for true: For the calling upon one anothers Names by Day, and the going out to the *Goats-Marſh*, as to Sea, ſeems to agree more to the former Relation; unleſs perhaps both the Actions, done at ſeveral times, might have happen'd on the ſame Day of the Week. Now, they ſay, it was in the 54*th* Year of his Age, and the 38*th* of his Reign, that *Romulus* left the World.

How old he was when he died.

The Compariſon of Romulus *and* Theſeus.

THIS is all I ever happen'd to hear of *Romulus* and *Theſeus*, worthy of Memory. Firſt, *Theſeus* ſeem'd, out of his own Free-will, without any Compulſion, when he might have reign'd in Security at *Trazene*,

Trazene, in the Enjoyment of no inglorious Empire, to have affected great Actions by himſelf. The other to eſcape preſent Servitude, and a Puniſhment that threatned him (according to *Plato)* grew Valiant purely out of Fear, and dreading the extreameſt Inflictions, attempted great Enterprizes out of mere neceſſity. Again, His greateſt Action was only the killing of one King of *Alba*; whereas the by-Adventures and Preludes of the other were the Conqueſts of *Sciron*, *Scinnis*, *Procruſtes* and *Corynetes*; by reducing and killing of whom, he ridded *Greece* of very violent Oppreſſors, before any of them that were relieved, knew who did it: and he might then without any trouble as well have gone to *Athens* by Sea, conſidering he himſelf never was in the leaſt injured by thoſe Robbers; whereas *Romulus* could not but be in Action whilſt *Amulius* lived. A great Teſtimony of this is, that *Theſeus*, for no wrong done himſelf, but for the ſake of others, did fall upon theſe Villains; but *Romulus* and *Remus*, as long as they themſelves ſuffer'd no ill by the Tyrant, permitted him to oppreſs all others. And if it be a great thing to have been wounded in Battel by the *Sabins*, to have kill'd King *Acron*, and to have conquer'd many Enemies; we may oppoſe to theſe Actions, the Battel with the *Centaurs*, and the Feats done

done againſt the *Amazons*. But what *Theſeus* adventur'd, in offering himſelf voluntarily with the other young Boys and Virgins, as part of the Tribute into *Crete*, either to be a Prey to a Monſter, or a Victim upon the Tomb of *Androgeus*, or, what is leaſt of all, to live vilely and diſhonourably in Slavery to inſulting and cruel Men; a Man cannot expreſs what an Act of Boldneſs, or Courage, or Juſtice to the Publick, or of Honour and Bravery, that was. So that methinks the Philoſophers did not define Love ill, to be *the ſervice of the Gods, in aſſiſting and preſerving Youth*; for the Love of *Ariadne*, above all, ſeems to be the proper Work and Deſign of ſome God, in order to preſerve *Theſeus*: and indeed we ought not to blame her for loving him, but rather wonder all Men and Women were not alike affected towards him; and if ſhe alone were ſo, truly I dare pronounce her worthy of the Love of a God, who was her ſelf ſo great a Lover of Virtue and Goodneſs, and the braveſt Man.

But both theſe naturally affecting Government, neither liv'd up to the true Character of a King, but flew off, and ran, one into Popularity, the other into Tyranny, falling both into the ſame fault out of different Paſſions: For a Prince's chief end is to preſerve his Empire, which

is

is done no leſs by avoiding Indecencies, than by maintaining a Decorum in all things: Whoever is either too remiſs or too ſtrict in this, is no more a King or a Prince, but either too popular a Man, or too lordly, and ſo becomes either odious or contemptible to his Subjects. This ſeems to be the fault of Eaſineſs and good Nature, the other of Pride and Severity: but if we muſt not in all reſpects impute Misfortunes to the Fates, but conſider in them the difference of Mens Manners and Paſſions, as the unreaſonable and inconſiderate Effects of Wrath and Anger; a Man can neither excuſe one in his Behaviour to his Brother, nor the other to his Son. Tho the Anger of *Theſeus* is more excuſable, becauſe it proceeded from a greater Cauſe, as being ſtruck with the ſeverer Laſh. *Romulus* having diſagreed with his Brother, adviſedly and deliberately upon the Concerns of the Publick, one would think, he could not of the ſudden have been put into ſo great a Paſſion; but Love, and Jealouſy, and the Complaints of his Wife (which few Men can avoid being provoked with) ſeduced *Theſeus* to commit that Outrage upon his Son. And what is more, *Romulus* in his Anger committed an Action of moſt unfortunate conſequence; but that of *Theſeus* ended only in words, ſome evil-ſpeaking, and a few

few old Peoples Curſes, the reſt of the Youth's Miſery ſeems to proceed from Fortune. So that ſo far a Man would give his Vote on *Theſeus*'s Part: But the chiefeſt matter in the other is this, that his Performances proceeded from very ſmall Beginnings; for both the Brothers being thought Servants, and the Sons of Swineherds, before they were Free-men themſelves, they gave Liberty to almoſt all the *Latins*, obtaining at once all the moſt honourable Titles, as Deſtroyers of their Country's Enemies, Preſervers of their Friends and Kindred, Princes of the People, Founders, not Removers of Cities; for ſuch a one was *Theſeus*, who raiſed and compiled only one Houſe out of many, demoliſhing many Cities bearing the Names of antient Kings and Heroes. But *Romulus* did the ſame afterwards, forcing his Enemies to deface and ruin their own Dwellings, and to ſojourn with their Conquerors; not altering at firſt, or increaſing a City that was before, but building one from the ground; acquiring likewiſe to himſelf, Lands, a Country, a Kingdom, Wives, Children, and Relations. He kill'd or deſtroy'd no body, but encouraged thoſe that wanted Houſes and Dwelling-places, if willing to be of a Society, and become Citizens: Robbers and Malefactors he ſlew not, but he ſubdued

Nations, he overthrew Cities, he triumph'd over Kings and Princes; and as to *Remus*, it is doubtful by whoſe Hand he was cut off, it is generally imputed to others: His Mother he apparently retriev'd from Death, and placed his Grandfather, who was brought under baſe and diſhonourable Vaſſalage, in the antient Throne of *Æneas*, to whom he did voluntarily many good Offices, but never annoyed him, no not through Ignorance it ſelf. But *Theſeus*, in his Forgetfulneſs and Inadvertency of the Command concerning the Flag, can ſcarcely methinks by any Excuſes, or before the moſt candid Judges, avoid the Imputation of Parricide; which a certain *Athenian*, perceiving it very hard to make an Excuſe for, feigns that *Ægeus*, at the arrival of the Ship, running haſtily to a Tower to ſee what News, ſlip'd and fell down, either for want of accidental Help, or that no Servants attended him in that haſte to the Sea-ſide. And indeed thoſe Faults committed in the Rapes of Women, admit of no plauſible Excuſe in *Theſeus*: Firſt, in regard to the often repetition of the Crime; for he ſtole *Ariadne*, *Antiope*, *Anaxo* the *Trazænian*, at laſt *Helena*, when he was an Old Man, and ſhe not marriageable, being too young and tender, and he at an

Age

Age paſt even lawful Wedlock. Then the Cauſe; for the *Trazænian*, *Lacedæmonian*, and *Amazonian* Virgins, beſide that they were not betrothed to him, were not worthier to raiſe Children by, than the *Athenians*, who were derived from *Ereſtheus* and *Cecrops*; but it is to be ſuſpected, theſe things were done out of Luſt, and the Satisfaction of the Fleſh. *Romulus* when he had taken near eight hundred Women, he choſe not all, but only *Herſilia* (as they ſay) for himſelf, the reſt he divided among the chief of the City: and afterwards, by the reſpect, and tenderneſs, and juſtice ſhewn towards them, he diſcover'd, that this Violence and Injury was a moſt commendable and politick Exploit to eſtabliſh a Society; by which he intermix'd and united both Nations, and made it the Fountain of all after Friendſhip, and of Power with them. And that it was the Cauſe of Reverence, and Love, and Conſtancy in Matrimony, time can witneſs: For in 230 Years neither any Husband deſerted his Wife, nor any Wife her Husband; but, as the moſt curious among the *Grecians* can tell you the firſt Parricide, ſo the *Romans* all well know, *Spurius Carvilius* was the firſt who put away his Wife, accuſing her of Barrenneſs. The Circumſtances of Matters do teſtify for ſo long a time; for upon

thoſe Marriages, the two Princes ſhar'd in the Dominion, and both Nations fell under the ſame Government. But from the Marriages of *Theſeus* proceeded nothing of Friendſhip or Correſpondence for the advantage of Commerce, but Enmities and Wars, and the Slaughter of Citizens, and at laſt the loſs of the City *Aphidnæ*; where, only out of the Compaſſion of the Enemy, whom they entreated and careſſed like Gods, they but juſt miſs'd ſuffering, what *Troy* did by *Paris*. *Theſeus* his Mother was not only in danger, but ſuffer'd alſo what *Hecuba* did, in being deſerted and deſtitute of her Son; unleſs that of her Captivity be not a Fiction, as I could wiſh both that and moſt other things of him were. What is fabulouſly related concerning both their Divinity, you will find a great difference in it: for *Romulus* was preſerved by the ſpecial Favour of the Gods; but the Oracle given to *Ægeus*, commanding him to abſtain from all ſtrange and foreign Women, ſeems to demonſtrate, that the Birth of *Theſeus* was not agreeable to the Will of the Gods.

THE

ad pag: 129.

LYCURGUS.

THE

LIFE

OF

LYCURGUS.

Tranſlated from the Greek of *Plutarch*, by *Knightly Chetwood*, Fellow of *King*'s College in *Cambridge*.

THere is ſo much incertainty in the accounts which Hiſtorians have left us of *Lycurgus*, the Law-giver of *Sparta*, that ſcarcely any thing is aſſerted by one of them which is not call'd into queſtion, or contradicted by the reſt. Their Sentiments are quite different as to the Family he came of, the Voyages he undertook, the place and manner of his Death, but moſt of all when they ſpeak of the Laws he made, and the Commonwealth

which he founded. They cannot by any means be brought to an agreement as to the very Age in which this excellent Perſon liv'd, for ſome of them ſay that he flouriſhed in the time of *Iphitus*, and that they two jointly contriv'd the Ordinance for the Ceſſation of Arms during the Solemnity of the *Olympick* Games. Of this Opinion was *Ariſtotle*, and for Confirmation of it he alledges an Inſcription upon one of the Copper Coits uſed in thoſe Sports, upon which the Name of *Lycurgus* continued undefac'd to this time. But *Eratoſthenes* and *Appollodorus*, two learned Chronologers, computing the time by the Succeſſions of the *Spartan* Kings, pretend to demonſtrate that he was much more antient than the very Inſtitution of the *Olympick* Games. *Timæus* conjectures that there were two of his Name, and in diverſe times, but that the one of them being much more famous than the other, Men gave to him the Glory of both their Exploits: The elder of the two, according to him, was not long after *Homer*, and ſome are ſo particular as to ſay that he had ſeen him too. But that he was of great Antiquity may be gathered from a paſſage in * *Xenophon*, where he makes him contemporary with the *Heraclidæ*; not but that the very laſt Kings of *Sparta* were *Heraclidæ* too: but he ſeems in that place to ſpeak

* Lib. de *Laced.* Rep.

ſpeak of the firſt, and more immediate Succeſſors of *Hercules*. But notwithſtanding this confuſion and obſcurity of Writers who have gone before us in this Subject, we ſhall endeavour to compoſe the Hiſtory of his * Life, ſetting down thoſe paſſages which are leaſt contradicted, and following thoſe Authors who are moſt worthy of Credit.

* *This was the firſt Life that* Plutarch *publiſh'd, and he ſeems to have a particular reſpect to this People, by writing a Book of their wiſe Sayings.*

The Poet *Simonides* will needs have it that *Lycurgus* was the Son of *Prytanis*, and not of *Eunomus*; but in this Opinion he is ſingular, for all the reſt deduce the Genealogy of them both as follows:

Ariſtodemus,
Patrocles,
Sous,
Eurition,
Prytanis,
Eunomus, who by his firſt Wife had a Son nam'd *Polydectes*, and by his ſecond Wife, *Dianiſſa*, had this
Lycurgus,

whoſe Life is before us; but as *Eutichidas* ſays, he was the Sixth from *Patrocles*, and the Eleventh from *Hercules*. Be this as it will, *Sous* certainly was the moſt renown'd of all his Anceſtors, under whoſe Conduct the *Spartans* ſubdu'd *Ilotos*, and made Slaves of the *Ilotes*, and added to their Dominions, by Conqueſt, a good part of *Arcadia*. There goes a Story of this King *Sous*, that being beſieged by the *Clitorians* in a dry and ſtony place, ſo that he could

come at no Water, he was at laſt conſtrained to agree with them upon theſe hard terms, That he would reſtore to them all his Conqueſts, provided that himſelf * and *all his Men* ſhould drink of a Spring not far diſtant from his Camp. After the uſual Oaths and Ratifications, he call'd his Soldiers together, and offer'd to him that would forbear Drinking, half his Kingdom for a reward. Their Thirſt was ſo much ſtronger than their Ambition, that not a Man of them was able to forbear. In ſhort, when they had all drank their fill, at laſt comes King *Sous* himſelf to the Spring, and, having ſprinkled his Face only, without ſwallowing one drop, he march'd off in the Face of his Enemies, refuſing to yield up his Conqueſts, becauſe himſelf, and *all his Men* (according to the Articles) had not drank of their Water.

* *A ſubtile promiſe.*

Altho he was juſtly had in Admiration, as well for his Wit and Abſtinence, as for his Warlike Exploits, yet was not his Family ſirnamed from him, but from his Son *Eurytion*, of whom they were call'd *Euritionides:* the reaſon of this was, that *Eurytion* took a courſe never practis'd by his wiſe Predeceſſors, which was to flatter and cajole his own Subjects, by ſlackening the Reins of the Royal Authority. But ſee what follow'd! the People, inſtead of growing more tractable by it, made new

Encroachments upon him every Day; insomuch, that, partly by taking Advantages of the too great *easiness* or *necessities* of the succeeding Princes, partly by tiring out and vexing those who used severity, they at last brought the Government into Contempt, and soon after the whole Kingdom into Anarchy and Confusion. In this miserable estate things continu'd a long time, and amongst its other Tragical Effects, it caused the Death of the Father of *Lycurgus*: for as the good King was endeavouring to quell a Riot in which the Parties were come to Blows, he was among them most barbarously * butcher'd; and left the Title of King to his eldest Son *Polydectes*: but he too dying soon after, the Right of Succession (as every one thought) rested in *Lycurgus*; and reign he did, until he had notice that the Queen, his Sister-in-Law, was with Child. Upon this he immediately declar'd that the Kingdom belong'd to her Issue, provided it were Male, and that himself would exercise the Regal Jurisdiction only as his † Guardian and Regent during his Minority. Soon after an Overture was made to him by the Queen, that she would make her self miscarry, or some way destroy that she went with, upon Condition that he would marry her when he came to the Crown. Tho he was extreamly incens'd against the Woman for this unnatu-

* μαγειρικῇ κοπίδι πληγείς, *stab'd with a Cook's Knife.*

† *They call'd them* Πρόδικοι.

ral Propoſal, yet wiſely ſmothering his Reſentments, and making ſhew of cloſing with her, he diſpatch'd the Meſſenger with a world of Thanks, and expreſſions of Joy; but withal diſſuaded her earneſtly from procuring her ſelf to miſcarry, becauſe that the violent means uſed in ſuch caſes would impair her Health, if not endanger her Life: Withal aſſuring her, that himſelf would ſo order it, that the Child, as ſoon as born, ſhould be taken *out of the way*. By theſe, and ſuch like Artifices, having drawn on the Woman to the time of her Lying-in, as ſoon as ever he heard that ſhe was in Labour, he ſent ſome of his Council to be by and obſerve all that paſt, with order, that if it were a Girl they ſhould deliver it to the Women, but if a Boy, that they ſhould bring it to him whereſoever he were, and whatſoever a doing. It ſo fell out, that as he was at Supper with his Principal Magiſtrates, the Queen was brought to Bed of a Boy, who was ſoon after preſented to him as he was at the Table: he, taking him tenderly into his Arms, ſaid to thoſe about him, Behold, my Lords of *Sparta*, here is a King born unto us. This ſaid, he laid him down upon the Chair of State, and nam'd him *Charilaus*; that is, *the Joy of the People*; becauſe they were ſo much tranſported with Joy, both at the birth of the young Prince, and the

the Contemplation of the Noble Mind and Juſtice of *Lycurgus:* And yet his good Reign laſted only eight Months. But *Lycurgus* was *in Nature a Prince*, and there were more who obeyed him upon the account of his eminent Virtues, than becauſe he was Regent to the King, and had the Treaſure and Strength of the Nation in his Hands. Yet could not all this *enſure* him from Envy, which made a puſh at him (as is uſual) before he was well ſettled in his high Truſt: the Heads of this Faction were the Kindred and Creatures of the Queen-Mother, who pretended not to have been dealt with ſutably to her Quality; and her Brother *Leonidas*, in a warm debate which fell out betwixt him and *Lycurgus*, went ſo far as to tell him to his Face, *that he was very well aſſured that e'er long he ſhould ſee him King*. By this reflecting Inſinuation he endeavour'd to make the People jealous of *Lycurgus*; thus preparing the way for an Accuſation of him, as tho he had made away with his Nephew, if he ſhould chance to fail, tho by a natural Death. Words of the like Import were deſignedly caſt abroad by the Queen-Mother, and her Adherents.

Lycurgus *envied.*

Being exceedingly troubled at this, and not knowing what it might come to, he thought it his wiſeſt Courſe to decline their Envy by a voluntary Exile, and ſo tra-

vel from place to place until his Nephew came to marriageable Years, and by having a Son had ſecured the Succeſſion. Setting Sail therefore with this Reſolution, he firſt arrived at *Crete*, where having conſidered their ſeveral Forms of Government, and got an Acquaintance with the principal Men among them, ſome of their Laws he very much approv'd of, and reſolv'd to make uſe of them in his own Country, and a good part of them he rejected as uſeleſs. Amongſt the Perſons there, the moſt renown'd for their Ability and Wiſdom in State Matters, was one *Thales*, whom *Lycurgus*, by repeated Importunities, and Aſſurances of Friendſhip, at laſt perſuaded to go over to *Lacedæmon*. When he came thither, by his outward Appearance and Character, he ſeem'd no other than a Lyrick Poet, but in reality he perform'd the part of one of the ableſt Law-givers in the World: The very Songs which he compos'd were pathetical Exhortations to Obedience and Concord: The ſweetneſs of the Meaſures, and the cadence of the Verſe, ſuting with the Subject, both ſerious and delightful, had ſo great an influence on their Minds, that they were inſenſibly ſoftned and civiliz'd; inſomuch that at laſt they renounced their private Feuds and Animoſities, which had kept them ſo long at Variance to their unſpeakable Diſadvantage,

Lycurgus *his Travels.*

and

and re-united themſelves into a chearful and unanimous concurrence for the publick welfare: ſo that it may truly be ſaid that *Thales* prepared the way for *Lycurgus*, by removing the rubbiſh and clearing the ground-plot, that he might raiſe upon it the laſting Fabrick of that glorious Commonwealth.

From *Crete* he ſailed to *Aſia*, with deſign (as is ſaid) to examine the difference betwixt the Manners and Government of the *Cretans* (who were very wiſe and temperate) and thoſe of the *Ionians*, a corrupt and effeminate People: as Phyſicians, by the oppoſition they find betwixt a healthful and ſickly body, are enabled to diſtinguiſh the ſwelling of a Dropſy from a good and thriving habit, and a real health from that which but appears ſo. Here had he the firſt ſight of *Homer*'s Works, which were preſerved in all probability by the poſterity of *Cleobulus*: and having obſerv'd that the few looſe expreſſions and actions of ill example which are to be found in his Poems, were very much out-weigh'd by thoſe grave Maxims of State and Rules of Morality (which are frequently couch'd under thoſe very Fictions) he ſet himſelf eagerly to tranſcribe and digeſt them into order, as thinking they would be of good uſe in his own Country: and to his immortal honour be it ſaid, he was the firſt who brought the Works of this moſt admirable

Homer's Works brought to light by Lycurgus.

Poet

Poet into Credit in *Greece:* for tho ſome Fragments of them lay ſcatter'd before in a few private hands (who ſet a great value upon them) yet were they never publiſhed together, nor generally admired, before the time of *Lycurgus*.

This Story of the Ægyptians is confirmed by ſome Greek Hiſtorians.

The *Ægyptians* ſay that he took a Voyage into *Ægypt*, and that, being much taken with their way of ſeparating the Souldiery from their Handicrafts and Mechanicks, he reſolv'd to imitate them at *Lacedæmon:* and this diſtinction of their Profeſſions, as it prevented *Confuſion*, it encreaſed their *Strength*, and cauſing *Regularity*, added *Beauty* to the State. But as for his Voyages into *Spain*, *Africk*, and the *Indies*, and his Conferences there with the *Gymnoſophiſts*, the whole Relation (as far as I can find) reſts on the ſingle Credit of *Ariſtocrates*, the Son of *Hipparchus*.

During the Abſence of *Lycurgus*, tho he was cheaply parted with, he was dearly miſs'd at *Lacedæmon*, and a great many Embaſſies were ſent to pray his Return: for Kings indeed we have (ſaid they) who wear the Marks and aſſume the Titles of Royalty, but as for the inward Qualities of their Minds, they have nothing by which they are to be diſtinguiſh'd from their Subjects; adding, that in him alone was the true foundation of Sovereignty to be ſeen, a Nature made to rule, and a *Genius* of that ſtrength,

ſtrength, that it made him at the ſame time *lov'd* and *reverenced* by the People. Tho this ſeem'd a little to reflect, yet were not the Kings themſelves averſe from his return, for they look'd upon his Preſence as a Bulwark for them againſt the growing Inſolencies of the People.

His return, and the alterations he made.

Things being in this poſture at his return, he apply'd himſelf, without loſs of time, to a thorow Reformation, and reſolv'd to change the whole face of the Commonwealth: For what could a few particular Laws and a partial Alteration avail, when there was an univerſal Corruption of all Orders and Degrees of Men in the State? He took therefore the courſe wiſe Phyſicians uſe, when they have to do with one who labours under a complication of Diſeaſes; they are not content to obviate one or two of them, but follow him with Purges and letting Blood, until they have quite drain'd him of his peccant humors, and exhauſted the corrupt maſs of his Blood: This done, they reſtore him by degrees, and preſcribe a Regimen of Diet quite contrary to the former. The Reader will eaſily make the Application. Having thus projected things, away he goes to *Delphi* to conſult *Apollo* there; which having done, and offer'd his Sacrifice, he return'd with that renowned Oracle, in which he is call'd Beloved of God, and rather God than Man:

This Oracle is extant at length in Herodotus.

Man: that his Prayers were heard, that his Laws ſhould be the beſt, and the Commonwealth which obſerved them the moſt famous in the World. Encouraged by theſe things, he ſet himſelf to bring over to his ſide the leading Men of *Sparta*, exhorting them to give him a helping hand in this great undertaking. He broke it firſt to his particular friends, and then by degrees he gained others; at laſt he animated them all together to put his deſign in execution. When things were ripe for action, he gave order to thirty of the Principal men of *Sparta* to be ready arm'd at the Market-place by break of the day, to the end that he might ſtrike a terror into the oppoſite party: *Hermippus* hath ſet down the names of twenty of the moſt eminent of them; but the name of him whom *Lycurgus* moſt confided in, and who was of moſt uſe to him, both in making his Laws, and putting them in execution, was *Arithmiadas*. Things growing to a tumult, King *Charilaus* apprehending that it was a Conſpiracy againſt his Perſon, took Sanctuary in the Temple of *Minerva* the Protectreſs. Being ſoon after undeceived, and put in heart again, and having taken an Oath of them that they had no treaſonable deſigns, he quitted his Refuge, and himſelf alſo entred into the confederacy with them: Of ſo gentle and flexible a diſpoſition he was,

and

and almoſt too good natur'd for a King: to which *Archelaus* his Partner in the Government alluded; when hearing him highly extoll'd for his goodneſs, he ſaid, How can he be otherwiſe than a gracious Prince, for he is good even to the worſt of men?

Amongſt the many changes and alterations which *Lycurgus* made, the firſt and of greateſt importance was the eſtabliſhment of the Senate, which having a power equal to the Kings in matters of great conſequence, did (as *Plato* expreſſes it) with its phlegm allay and qualify the hot complexion of a Monarchy, ſerv'd as a Rampart againſt the inſolence of the People, and always kept the Commonwealth in *good temper*. For the State which before had no firm Baſis to ſtand upon, but lean'd one while towards an abſolute Monarchy (when the Kings had the upper hand) and another while towards a pure Democracy (when the People had the better of it) found in this Eſtabliſhment of the Senate a counterpoiſe, which always kept things in a juſt *æquilibrium*. For the Twenty Eight always adher'd to the weaker ſide, and put themſelves like a weight into the lighter Scale, until they had reduced the other to a Ballance. As for the determinate number of Twenty Eight, *Ariſtotle* is of opinion that it ſo fell out, becauſe

two

two of the Aſſociates for want of Courage fell off from the Enterprize; but *Sphærus* aſſures us that there were but Twenty-eight of the Confederates at firſt: perhaps there is ſome Myſtery in the number, which conſiſts of Seven multiply'd by Four, and is the firſt of perfect numbers after Six, being, as that is, equal to its ſides. For my part, I cannot believe that *Lycurgus* had any ſuch Niceties in his Head, but pitch'd upon the number of Twenty-eight, that, the two Kings being reckoned amongſt them, they might be Thirty in all. So eagerly ſet was *Lycurgus* upon this Eſtabliſhment invented by himſelf, that he took a Journy to *Delphi* to credit it by the Approbation of the Oracle, who gave him the Famous *Rhetra*, or fundamental Statute, which runs thus. *After that you have built a Temple to* Jupiter *the* Syllanian, *and to* Minerva *the* Syllanian, *and after you have divided the People into Tribes, you ſhall eſtabliſh a Council of thirty Senators, in the number of which the two Kings ſhall be compriz'd; and ſhall from time to time call the People to an Aſſembly betwixt* Balyca *and* Cnacion, *where the Senate ſhall propound things to the Commons, who ſhall not have Power to debate upon their Propoſals, but only to give or refuſe their Aſſent: and it ſhall be in the Power of the Senate to diſſolve the Aſſembly.* Betwixt this *Balyca* and *Cnacion* (now called cinẽvſa) their

The Rhetra, *or* Oracle.

their Aſſemblies were held, for they had no ſpacious Council-houſe richly hung and furniſhed to receive them in: for *Lycurgus* was of Opinion that ſuch Theatrical Ornaments were ſo far from advantaging them in their Counſels, that they were rather an hindrance, by diverting their Attention from the buſineſs before them, to gape upon the Statues and Pictures, and Roofs curiouſly fretted, the uſual embeliſhments of ſuch places amonſt the other *Græcians*. The People then being thus aſſembled in the open air, it was not allow'd to any one of their Order to give his Advice, but only either to ratify or reject what ſhould be propounded to them by the King or Senate. But becauſe it fell out afterwards, that the People made gloſſes and explanations of Laws contrary to the intent of the Kings and Senate, and ſometimes too by adding or razing out whole Sentences, perverted the ſenſe, King *Polydorus* and *Theopompus* (to be even with them in their own kind) inſerted into the *Rhetra* or grand Decretal the following Clauſe; That if the People ſhould go about to make alteration in the Decrees of the Senate, or to enlarge or limit the Senſe of them, that it ſhould be lawful for the King and Senate to make void their Reſolutions, and to diſſolve the Aſſembly. This buſineſs was ſo dextrouſly managed, that

it

it paſt among the People for as authentick as the reſt of the *Rhetra*, as appears by theſe Verſes of *Tyrtæus*:

If Spartans, *ye deſire that Heav'n ſhould bleſs*
Your New-born State with laſting happineſs,
Hear what Apollo's *Oracle commands:*
Jove *puts the Scepter into Princes hands.*
Let them Command; let Senators debate
The deep Affairs, and Intereſts of State:
Hear ye, and give aſſent, and reverence pay,
And know, 'tis Subjects privilege——*to obey.*

Altho *Lycurgus* had in this manner us'd all the qualifications poſſible in the Government of his Commonwealth, yet thoſe who ſucceeded him thought that the ſmallneſs of the number of which the Senate conſiſted, made them ſomewhat imperious and preſſing, and therefore * (as *Plato* ſays) they wanted a Bridle, which Bridle was the power of the *Ephori*, eſtabliſh'd a hundred and thirty years after the death of *Lycurgus*. *Elatus* was the firſt who had this Dignity confer'd upon him, in the Reign of King *Theopompus*, whom when his Queen upbraided one day, that he would leave the regal Power to his Children leſs than himſelf had received it from his Anceſtors, he told her that ſhe was much miſtaken, for he ſhould leave it ſo much greater than he found it, by how much it was more likely to laſt.

* Plato *no great friend to a Monarchy.*

For

For indeed the Prerogative being thus kept within ſome reaſonable bounds, *at once* he freed himſelf from the envy, and ſecur'd himſelf from the danger, to which an unlimited Juriſdiction lies expoſed. So that the *Spartan* Kings fared much better after it than their Neighbours at *Meſſene* and *Argos*; who by ſcrewing their Prerogative too high, crack'd it, and for want of yielding a little to the Populacy, loſt all.

Indeed, whoſoever ſhall take a proſpect of the Seditions and Civil Wars which befel theſe bordering Nations, (to whom they were as near related in blood as ſituation) will find good reaſon to admire the profound wiſdom and providence of *Lycurgus*; for theſe three States in their firſt riſe were equal, or, if there were any odds, they lay on the ſide of the *Meſſenians* and *Argives*, who in the diviſion of their Country were more fortunate than the *Spartans*: yet was their flouriſh but of ſmall continuance, ſoon falling into confuſion, partly by the tyrannical diſpoſition of their Kings, and partly by the ungovernableneſs of the people: ſo that now their ſervile and diſgraceful condition makes it appear to the whole world, that it is one of the greateſt Bleſſings which Heaven can ſend down upon any Nation, to give them ſo wiſe a Law-giver who could ſet bounds to thoſe two interfering Powers, and of ſuch jarring Elements

frame an orderly Commonwealth. But of this I ſhall ſay more in its due place.

After the Creation of the thirty Senators, his next task, and indeed the moſt hazardous he ever undertook, was the making a new diviſion of their Lands. For there was a very ſtrange inequality among the Inhabitants of *Sparta*, ſo that the City was ſurcharged with a multitude of beggarly and neceſſitous perſons, whilſt the Lands and Mony were engroſſed by a few: therefore to the end that he might baniſh out of the State Luxury and Arrogance, (the vices of the rich) and Envy and Knavery, (the uſual faults of the poor) and the ſource of all miſchiefs, Want and Superfluity, he obtained of them to renounce their properties, and to conſent to a new diviſion of the Land; that they ſhould live all with the equality and friendlineſs of Co-heirs and Brothers: ſo that there being no other way left to mount to a degree of eminence above the reſt, than to become more valiant and more virtuous than they, *Ambition began to be a good Subject*, and ſet men upon the uſe of thoſe means by which true Honour is to be acquir'd.

Having got their conſent to his Propoſals, he immediately put them in execution: and having exactly ſurvey'd the whole Country of *Laconia*, he divided it into thirty thouſand equal ſhares, and the Liberties of

of the City of *Sparta* into nine thouſand; and theſe he diſtributed to the Inhabitants of the City, as he did the others to them who dwelt in the Country. Some Authors ſay that he made but ſix thouſand lots for the Citizens of *Sparta*, and that King *Polydore* added three thouſand more. Others ſay that *Polydore* doubled the number *Lycurgus* had made, which (according to them) was but four thouſand five hundred. A lot was ſo much as to yield one year with another about ſeventy Buſhels of Grain, for the Maſter of the Family, and twelve for his Wife, with a ſutable proportion of Oil and Wine. And this he thought ſufficient to keep their bodies in good health and luſty, and as for ſuperfluities he deſign'd wholly to retrench them. It is reported, that as he returned from a Journey ſome time after the diviſion of the Lands, in harveſt time, the ground being newly reap'd, obſerving the Sheaves to be all equal, and the Shocks of the ſame bigneſs, he ſmilingly ſaid to thoſe about him, Methinks *Lacedæmon* is like the Inheritance of a great many Brothers, which have newly made a diviſion among themſelves.

Not contented with this, he reſolv'd to make a diviſion of their Movables too, that there might be no odious diſtinction or inequality left amonſt them; but finding that it would be very dangerous to go

about it openly, he bethought himſelf of this Stratagem. He commanded that all Gold and Silver Coin ſhould be cry'd down, aad that only a ſort of Mony made of Iron ſhould be current, whereof a great weight and quantity was but very little worth: So that to lay up twenty or thirty Pounds, there was requir'd a pretty large Chamber, and to remove it, nothing leſs than a yoke of Oxen. By this Invention, it is ſcarcely to be imagin'd, how many execrable Vices were baniſh'd *Lacedæmon*: For who would rob another of ſuch a ſcurvy ſort of Coin? Who would unjuſtly detain it? Who would cheat and circumvent, be brib'd, or turn Knight of the Poſt to compaſs it? when it was not eaſy to be hid when a Man had it, nor brought a Man any credit in the world by the Poſſeſſion of it, nor could ſerve for any uſe when you had cut it in pieces; for when it was red hot and juſt ſtamp'd, they quench'd it in Vinegar, and by that means made it almoſt unmalleable by its hardneſs.

In the next place he baniſh'd all Arts that were not abſolutely neceſſary; but here he might almoſt have ſpar'd his Precaution: for they of themſelves would have gone after the Gold and Silver, the mony which remain'd being not ſo proper payment for curious Pieces: for being of Iron it was ſcarcely portable, neither if they ſhould take

take ſo much pains as to export it, would it paſs among the other *Græcians*, who were ſo far from valuing it, that they thought it one of the moſt ridiculous things in the world. Thus was foreign Traffick almoſt utterly cut off, for neither could the *Lacedæmonians* buy any Merchandiſe of Strangers, neither did any Merchants think it worth their while to bring in their Goods to any part of *Laconia*. For the ſame reaſon, they were not peſter'd with any *pedantical* Teachers of Rhetorick, with Gypſies, Fortune-tellers, and Calculators of Nativities; no pimping corrupters of Youth brought their Ladies of compoſition, or their Boys to be unnaturally abus'd there; no Goldſmiths, and Engravers, no Jewellers and Perfumers were to be found amongſt them, *for there was no Mony*: So that Luxury being depriv'd of that which fed and fomented it (being quite ſtarv'd out) was forc'd to quit their Country, and ſeek it ſelf one elſewhere. For the Rich had no Preeminence here over the Poor, and their Riches and Abundance, having no opportunity of appearing and boaſting of themſelves in publick, were forced to remain uſeleſs at home, a *coſtly prey* to the Ruſt and the Moth. Their thoughts being thus taken off from things ſuperfluous, they became excellent Artiſts in thoſe which were neceſſary; ſo that Bedſteads, Chairs and Tables, and ſuch like ſtaple U-

tenſils in a Family, were admirably well made there; particularly their Cup was very much in faſhion, and bought up by Soldiers, as *Critias* reports: for the colour and thickneſs of the Cup hindred the muddineſs of the dirty water (which upon marches muſt often be drunk) from being perceived; and the Figure of it was ſuch, that the Mud ſank to the bottom, or ſtuck to the ſides, ſo that only the pureſt part of the Water came to the Mouth of him that drank it. And this skill of theirs, tho in minute things, was mainly owing to their Law-giver, who took off their minds from the endleſs care of providing the means and inſtruments of Luxury, to attend only to thoſe things which were of daily and indiſpenſable uſe.

The laſt and moſt maſterly ſtroke of this excellent Philoſopher, by which he ſtruck at the very roots of Luxury, and exterminated utterly the deſire of Riches, was the Ordinance he made, that they ſhould all eat in common, of the ſame meat, and of ſuch kinds as were ſpecify'd in the Decree: by which it was expreſly forbid to pamper themſelves in private, to uſe rich Couches, and magnificent Tables, abuſing the labours of excellent Workmen, and *delivering* themſelves up into the hands of their Butchers and Cooks, who us'd to *cram* them in Corners, as they fatted up the *Beaſts* and the

the *Poultry* they fed on. By this way of life their manners were not only corrupted, but their bodies too were enfeebled; ſo that giving the rein to their ſenſual Appetites, they ſtood in need of long ſleep, and hot *Bagnio*'s, and, in a word, of as much care and attendance as if they were continually *Sick*. It was certainly an extraordinary thing to have brought about ſuch an Enterpriſe as this, but a greater yet to have effected by the frugality of their publick Tables, that their riches ſhould be privileg'd from the hands of rapine, nay rather (as *Theophraſtus* obſerves) ſhould be utterly degraded, * loſing their property, and almoſt their very nature, ſo that they no longer were the objects of envy. For the rich being oblig'd to partake of the ſame fare with the poor, they could not make uſe of, or enjoy their choice viands, nor ſo much as pleaſe their vain humours, by making a ſhew and vaunting of them to the World. So that the common Proverb, that *Plutus* (the God of riches) is blind, was no where ſo literally verify'd as in *Sparta*: for there he was kept continually *Blind*, or rather like a dead Carcaſe, ſenſeleſs, motionleſs, as when he lay *wrapt* up in the dark *entrails* of the Earth. Nor could they take any refection in private before they came to the publick Halls; for every one had an eye upon them who did not eat and

* πλοῦτος ἄπλουτος.

drink with a good ſtomach, and reproached them with the name of dainty and effeminate.

This laſt Ordinance bore very hard upon the wealthier ſort of Men, ſo that being out of all patience they made an inſurrection againſt *Lycurgus*, and from ill words came to blows; ſo that at length he was forced to run out of the Aſſembly, and make to the Sanctuary to ſave his Life. By good hap he got before all the reſt, excepting one *Alcander*, (a young Gentleman otherwiſe not ill accompliſh'd, but too haſty and cholerick) who came up ſo cloſe to him, as that, whilſt he turn'd himſelf about to ſee who was near him, he ſtruck him upon the Face, and beat out one of his Eyes. The incomparable *Philoſopher* was ſo far from being daunted and diſcouraged by this Accident, that he ſtop'd ſhort, and ſhew'd his reverend Face all in a gore Blood to his ingrateful Countrymen: They were ſo ſtrangely ſurpriz'd and aſham'd to ſee it, that they immediately beg'd Pardon, offer'd him any ſort of reparation, and deliver'd *Alcander* into his hands, to be puniſh'd as he ſhould think fit. *Lycurgus*, having thank'd them for their care of his Perſon, diſmiſs'd them all, excepting only *Alcander*: Taking him with him into his Houſe, he neither did nor ſaid any thing ſeverely to him, but diſmiſſing thoſe whoſe place it was, he order'd *Alcander*

der to wait upon him at Table; the young Man, tho not uſed to ſervile Employments, without murmuring or repining did as he was commanded. Being thus near him, he had opportunity to obſerve in him (beſides the natural goodneſs and mildneſs of his Temper) an extraordinary Sobriety in his Diet, and a ſtrength of Complexion proceeding from it, which no Labours and Fatigues were able to ſurmount. He was ſo raviſh'd with Admiration of theſe excellent Qualities, that of an Enemy he became one of his moſt zealous Admirers, and told his Friends and Relations that *Lycurgus* was not that *moroſe* and *ill-natur'd* Man whom they had formerly took him for, but of the ſweeteſt and moſt *Gentleman-like* Diſpoſition in the World. And thus did *Lycurgus* (for *Chaſtiſement* of his fault) make of a wild and diſſolute young Man, one of the diſcreeteſt Citizens of *Sparta*.

In memory of this accident *Lycurgus* built a Temple to *Minerva*, ſirnamed *Optilete*, from a Word which in the *Dorick* Dialect ſignifies the Preſerver of the Sight: For ſome Authors, of which *Dioſcorides* is one (who wrote a Treatiſe of the Commonwealth of *Sparta*) ſay, that he was wounded indeed, but did not loſe his Eye with the blow; and this was the cauſe of the Dedication of that Temple. Be this as it will, certain it is, that this miſadventure was

was the cauſe that the *Lacedæmonians* never bring any Arms, no not ſo much as a Staff into their publick Aſſemblies.

But to return to their publick Repaſts which had ſeveral Names in *Greek*; for the *Candiots* call'd them Ἀνδρεῖα (becauſe the Men only came to them:) The *Lacedæmonians* call'd them Φειδίτια (from a Word which ſignifies Parſimony, becauſe they were ſo many Schools of Sobriety) or Φιλίτια, that is, Feaſts of Love, becauſe that by eating and drinking together they had opportunity of making Friends. To put in my own conjecture, perhaps they were ſimply call'd Ἐδίτια (Eating-Houſes) for ſuch the Word is by the ſubtraction of one Letter. They met by Companies of Fifteen, over or under, and each of them ſtood bound to bring in monthly a Buſhel of Meal, eight Gallons of Wine, five Pounds of Cheeſe, two Pounds and a half of Figs, for their deſſert, and a little Mony to buy Fleſh and Fiſh withal. Beſides this, when any of them made Sacrifice to the Gods, they always ſent a Dole to the Common-hall; and likewiſe when any one of them had been a hunting, he ſent thither a part of the Veniſon he had kill'd; and theſe two were the only allowable Excuſes for ſupping at home. This Cuſtom of eating together was obſerv'd ſtrictly for a great while afterwards; inſomuch that *Agis*, King of *Lacedemon*,

Lacedæmon, having vanquiſh'd the *Athenians*, and ſending for his Commons at his return home, becauſe he deſir'd to eat privately with his Queen, was refuſed by the *Polemarchi*; which refuſal, when he reſented ſo much as to omit the Euchariſtical Sacrifices, which uſed to be made for a War happily ended, they were ſo far from asking his Pardon, that they ſet a Fine upon his Head, and obliged him to pay it.

They us'd to ſend their Children to theſe Tables as to Schools of Temperance and good Husbandry: Here they were inſtructed in State-affairs, not by mercenary *Pedants*, but by experienced *Stateſmen*: Here they learn'd the Art of Converſation, to *Droll* without *Reflecting*, and to make Jeſts at the *coſt* of no Man's Reputation; and withal to take a Jeſt with the ſame Innocence and Unconcernedneſs that they gave one. In this point of good Breeding the *Lacedæmonians* exceeded all the People of *Greece*; but if any Man were out of Humour, or was not of a Nature to bear a Jeſt, upon the leaſt hint given there was no more to be ſaid to him: It was cuſtomary alſo for the eldeſt Man in the Company to tell each of them, as they came in, *Look ye, Sir, not a Word ſaid in Company muſt go out of this Door*, and withal he pointed to it. When any one had a deſire to be admitted into any of theſe little Societies, he was to go through

through this manner of probation: Each man in the company took a little ball of ſoft bread (a cuſtom much like that of *ballotting* in other places) which they were to throw into a deep Baſin, which a Waiter carried round upon his head: thoſe that lik'd the perſon to be choſen drop'd their Ball into the Baſin without altering the figure; and thoſe who diſliked him preſs'd it betwixt their fingers, and made it flat: and this ſignify'd as much as a *negative* voice; for if there were but one of theſe flatted pieces in the Baſin, the Suiter was rejected: ſo curious they were in the choice of their company, and ſo tender of diſguſting any one member in it, by taking in a man unacceptable to him. Their principal Diſh was a ſort of black Broth, which was ſo much valued that the elderly ſort fed only upon that, leaving what fleſh there was to the younger ſort.

The ſame ſtory is told of Dionyſius *the Tyrant.* Cic. Tuſc.

They ſay that a certain King of *Pontus*, having heard much of this black Broth of theirs, ſent for a *Lacedæmonian* Cook on purpoſe to make him ſome; he had no ſooner taſted it but he found it was abominable: the Cook ſeeing him out of conceit with it, told him; *Sir, to make this Broth reliſh, you ſhould have bath'd your ſelf firſt in the River of* Eurotas.

Having eaten and drank thus moderately, every man went to his home without *lights:*

lights; for the uſe of them was utterly forbid, to the end they might accuſtom themſelves to march boldly in the dark. And ſuch was the Order and Faſhion of their Meals.

Lycurgus would never reduce his Laws into Writing; nay, it is expreſly forbid in the *Rhetra*: for he thought that the moſt material points, and ſuch as moſt directly tended to the publick Welfare, being *imprinted* on the Hearts of their Youth by a good Education, and by a conſtant and habitual Obſervance of them, becoming a *ſecond* Nature, would ſupply the place of a *Law* and Law-giver in them all the reſt of their Lives; and as for things of leſſer importance, as pecuniary Contracts, and ſuch like, the forms of which ought to be chang'd as occaſion requires, and in tract of time become inſufficient for the ends they were intended for, he thought it the beſt way to leave them to every Man's Diſcretion, and to preſcribe no certain form at all. He left therefore no inviolable cuſtom in ſuch Caſes, willing that the manner and form of bargaining ſhould be alter'd according to the Circumſtances of Time, and Determinations of Men of the ſoundeſt Judgment. For he was perſuaded that without good Education the beſt Laws in the World ſignify'd nothing, and where that was they were in a manner ſuperfluous.

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One Branch then of the *Rhetra* was, that their Laws ſhould not be written: another Branch of it is particularly levell'd againſt Luxury and Expenſiveneſs; for by it it was ordained, That the Ceilings of their Houſes ſhould only be wrought by the Ax, and their Gates and Doors ſmooth'd only by the Saw. And this was not without Myſtery: for if *Epaminondas* could ſay with ſo good a Grace, inviting ſome Friends to his Table, *Come, Gentlemen, be ſecure, Treaſon would never come to ſuch a poor Dinner as this*; why might not this great Law-giver in all probability have thought that ſuch ill-favour'd Houſes would never be capable of receiving Luxury and Superfluity? For a Man muſt have a more than ordinary ſhare of Folly that would furniſh ſuch Rooms with Embroidered Beds, and Hangings of Arras, that would be ſerv'd in Plate upon a rough hewn Table, and pretend to *pomp* and *magnificence* in a Houſe which was almoſt too narrow for the *Neceſſities* of Life. And doubtleſs he had good reaſon to think that they would proportion their Beds to their Houſes, and their Coverlets to their Beds, and that the reſt of their Goods and Furniture would be ſutable to them. It is reported that King *Leotichidas*, the firſt of that Name, was ſo little uſed to the ſight of carv'd Work, that, being entertain'd at *Corinth* in a ſtately Room, he was much ſurpriz'd

priz'd to ſee the Timber and Ceiling ſo finely wrought, and asked his Hoſt, *whether the Trees grew ſo in his Country.*

A third Ordinance of this forementioned *Rhetra* was, That they ſhould not make War often, or long, with the ſame Enemy, leſt they ſhould train and inſtruct them in the Art of War, by having often to do with them; and by forcing them to defend themſelves, at length teach them to be the Aggreſſors. And for breaking this Law was *Ageſilaus* much blamed a long time after, by making ſuch continual Incurſions into *Bœotia*, that at length he taught that People to make Head againſt the *Lacedæmonians*; and therefore *Antalcidas*, ſeeing him wounded one day, ſaid to him, that he was very well paid for making the *Thebans* good Soldiers whether they would or no. And theſe Laws were called the *Rhetra*, that is to ſay, not Inventions of Man's Wiſdom, but Divine Sanctions and Revelations from Heaven.

In order to the good Education of their Youth (which, as I ſaid before, he thought the moſt important and nobleſt Work of a Law-giver) he went ſo far back as to take into conſideration their very Conception and Birth, by regulating their Marriages. For *Ariſtotle* wrongs the Memory of this excellent Perſon, by bearing us in hand, that, after he had try'd all manner of ways *Pol. lib. 7.*

to

to reduce the Women to more Modeſty and Sobriety, he was at laſt forc'd to leave them as they were; becauſe that in the abſence of their Husbands, who ſpent the beſt part of their lives in the Wars, their Wives made themſelves abſolute Miſtreſſes at home, and would be treated with as much reſpect as if they had been ſo many Queens. But by his good leave it is a miſtake; for he took for that Sex too all the care that was poſſible: as an inſtance of it, he ordered the Maidens to exerciſe themſelves with Wreſtling, Running, throwing the Bar, and caſting the Dart, to the end that the Fruit they conceived might take deeper root, and grow ſtrong, and ſpread it ſelf in ſtrong and healthy Bodies; and withal that they might be the more able to undergo the Pains of Child-bearing. And to the end he might take away their over great Tenderneſs, and that *acquired* Womaniſhneſs which vain cuſtom hath added to the *natural*, he ordered that they ſhould go naked as well as the young Men, and dance too in that Condition at their ſolemn Feaſts and Sacrifices, ſinging certain Songs, whilſt the young Men ſtood in a Ring about them, ſeeing and hearing them: In theſe Songs they now and thengave a Satyrical glance upon thoſe who had misbehaved themſelves in the Wars, and ſometimes ſang Encomiums upon thoſe who had done any gallant Action; and

and by theſe means enflamed the younger ſort with an Emulation of their Glory. Thoſe that were thus commended went away brave and well ſatisfy'd with themſelves, and thoſe who were rally'd, were as ſenſibly touch'd with it, as if they had been formally and ſeverely reprimanded; and ſo much the more, becauſe the King and the whole Court ſaw and heard all that paſs'd. Now tho it may ſeem ſtrange that Women ſhould appear thus naked in publick, yet may it be ſaid, that *true* Modeſty was obſerv'd and Wantonneſs excluded; they were ſufficiently clad in their *native* Innocence and Simplicity, and wore the Livery of the lovely Original Couple. The end of their Exerciſe was to make themſelves more active and vigorous, to the end that they might bear away the Prize one from another, and at laſt come to diſpute it with the Men. From hence came that Senſe of Honour and Nobleneſs of Spirit, of which we have an Inſtance in *Gorgo*, the Wife of King *Leonidas*, who being told, in Diſcourſe with ſome foreign Ladies, that the Women of *Lacedæmon* were they only of the World who had an Empire over the Men; ſhe briskly repartee'd, that there was good Reaſon, for they were the only Women who brought forth Men. Laſtly, theſe publick Proceſſions of the Maidens, and their appearing naked in their Exerciſes

and Dancings, were Provocations and Baits to ſtir up and allure the young Men to Marriage; and that, not upon *Geometrical Reaſons* (as *Plato* calls them) ſuch as Intereſt and Equality of Fortune and Birth, but from the *ſweet* Conſtraint and unſophiſticated Dictates of Nature, from that *myſterious* Agreement and *Sympathy* of Minds which alone can make Men happy in a married Eſtate. Beſides this, that he might promote Marriage more effectually, thoſe who continued Batchelors were made infamous by Law; for they were excluded from the ſight of thoſe publick Proceſſions in which the young Men and Maidens danc'd naked; nay, the Officers compel'd them to march naked themſelves round the Market-place in the very depth of Winter, ſinging a certain Song to their own diſgrace, that they juſtly ſuffer'd this Puniſhment for diſobeying the Laws. Moreover they were depriv'd of that Reſpect and Obſervance which the younger ſort were oblig'd to pay to their Elders; and therefore no Man found fault with what was ſaid to *Dercyllidas*, a great Captain, and one who had commanded Armies; who, as he came into the place of Aſſembly, a young Man, inſtead of riſing and making room for him, told him, Sir, you muſt not expect that Honour from me being young, which cannot be return'd to me by a Child of yours when I am old.

When

When they had a mind to marry, their Courtſhip was a ſort of Rape upon the Perſons whom they had a fancy for, and thoſe they choſe not tender and † half Children, but in the Flower of their Age, and full ripe for a Husband: After this, ſhe who manag'd the Wedding, comes and ſhaves cloſe the Hair of the Bride, dreſſes her up compleatly in Man's Clothes, leaves her upon a Matreſs; this done, in comes the Bridegroom, in his every Day Clothes, ſober and compos'd, as having ſupp'd at his Ordinary, and ſteals in as privately as he can into the Room where the Bride lay, unties her Virgin Zone, and takes her into his Embraces; and ſo having ſtay'd ſome time together, he returns as ſecretly as he can to his Apartment with the reſt of his Comrades, with whom he ſpends all the Day, and good part of the Night too, unleſs he ſteals a ſhort Viſit to his Bride, and that he did with a great deal of Circumſpection and Fear of being diſcover'd; nor was ſhe wanting (as may be ſuppos'd) on her part, to uſe her Woman's Wit in watching the moſt favourable Opportunities for their meeting, and making Appointments when Company was moſt out of the way. In this manner they liv'd a long time, inſomuch that they frequently had Children by their Wives before ever they ſaw their Faces by daylight. Their Interview being thus difficult and rare, ſerv'd

† *The* Romans *allow'd them to marry at twelve Years of Age: he covertly blames them for it.*

not only for continual Exerciſe of their Temperance, and further'd very much the Ends and Intention of Marriage, but beſides, theſe ſhort Abſences kept their Paſſion ſtill alive, which *flags*, and *decays*, and *dies* at laſt by too eaſy Acceſs and long Continuance with the beloved Object; they always parted with Regret, contriving when they ſhould come together again, and thought Minutes Hours till the next meeting. Having thus ſet Modeſty as a Centinel over the Marriage-Bed, he next bethought himſelf of a prevention of that wild and womaniſh Paſſion, *Jealouſy*: And this he † thought the beſt Expedient, to allow Men the Freedom of imparting the uſe of their Wives to thoſe whom they ſhould think fit, that ſo they might have Children by them: and this he would needs make a very commendable piece of Liberality, and laugh'd at thoſe who think the Violation of their Bed ſuch an inſupportable Affront, that they revenge it by Murders often, and ſometimes by cruel Wars. *Lycurgus* thought a Man not to be blam'd, who being ſtep'd in Years, and having a young Wife, ſhould recommend ſome virtuous handſom young Man that ſhe might have a Child by him, who might inherit the good Qualities of ſuch a Father; and this Child the good Man loves as tenderly as if he was of his own getting: On the other ſide, an honeſt Man who

† *A Remedy almoſt as bad as the Diſeaſe; blam'd and derided by the other* Grecians.

who had love for a married Woman upon the account of her Modeſty and the well-favour'dneſs of her Children, might without formality beg of her Husband a Night's Lodging, that he might have a ſlip of ſo goodly a Tree, which he might tranſplant into his own Garden. And indeed, *Lycurgus* was of a Perſuaſion that Children were not ſo much the Propriety of their Parents, as of the whole Commonwealth; and therefore he wou'd not have 'em begot by the firſt Comers, but by the beſt Men that cou'd be found. The Laws of other Nations ſeem'd to him very defective and incongruous, who were very ſolicitous for the breed of their Dogs and Horſes, and ſent a great way, and were at no ſmall Charges to get the beſt Stallions, and yet kept their Wives under Lock and Key for fear of other Men; whereas themſelves were craz'd, old, or infirm, and more fit to propagate *Diſeaſes* than their *Species*. If they had made the leaſt Reflection in the World, they would have taken notice that the Honour and Diſhonour of Children, (who generally derive their good or ill Qualities from thoſe that beget 'em) doth chiefly redound to thoſe who have the Charge of their Education; and if they prove ill, they firſt feel the Smart of it. Such Reaſons may be alledg'd in favour of this Paradox of *Lycurgus*; but this is certain, that ſo long as theſe Ordinances were

obſerv'd, the Women were there ſo far from that ſcandalous Liberty, which hath ſince been objected to them, that they knew not what the name of Adultery meant. A proof of this we have in *Geradas*, a very antient *Spartan*, who being asked by a Stranger, what Puniſhment their Law had appointed for Adulterers, he anſwer'd, there are no Adulterers in our Country; but, replied the Stranger, ſuppoſe there were one, and the Crime prov'd againſt him, how would you puniſh him? he anſwer'd, that the Offender muſt pay to the Plaintiff a Bull with a Neck ſo long as that he might drink of the River that ran at the foot of *Taygetus*, over the Top of the Mountain. The Man being ſurpriz'd at this, ſaid, Why, 'tis impoſſible to find ſuch a Bull: *Geradas* ſmilingly reply'd, 'twas juſt as poſſible to find an Adulterer in *Sparta*. And ſo much I had to ſay of their Marriages.

Nor was it in the Power of the Father to diſpoſe of the Child as he thought fit, but was oblig'd to carry it before the † Tryers, (who were ſome of the graveſt Men of the Tribe to which the Child belong'd) their Buſineſs it was carefully to view the Infant, and if they found it luſty and well-favour'd, they gave order for its Education, and allotted to it one of the nine thouſand ſhares of Land abovementioned for its maintenance; but if they found it deform'd, and

† *They kept their Court at a place call'd* λέσχη.

and of an ill Complexion, they ordered it to be caſt into a deep † Cavern in the Earth near the Mountain *Taygetus*, as thinking it neither for the good of the Child it ſelf, nor for the publick Intereſt, that it ſhould be brought up, ſince Nature had denied it the means of Happineſs in its own particular, by not giving it Health nor Strength ſufficient to make it ſerviceable to the Publick. Upon the ſame account the Women did not bathe the new-born Children with Water, as is the Cuſtom in all other Countries, but with Wine, to *prove* the Temper and Complexion of their Bodies: for a Conceit they had, that weakly Children fall into Fits of Convulſion, or immediately faint upon their being thus bath'd; on the contrary, thoſe who were of a ſtrong and vigorous Habit, would acquire a greater degree of firmneſs by it, and get a temper in proportion like Steel, in the quenching. Their Nurſes too were ſo careful and experienc'd, that without uſing Swadling-bands, their Children were all ſtreight, well proportion'd and beautiful; and beſides they us'd them to any ſort of Meat, and ſometimes to bear the want of it, not to be afraid of the dark, or to be alone, nor to be wayward, and peeviſh, and crying, as they are generally in other Countries, through the impertinent Care and Fondneſs of thoſe who look to them. Upon this account *Spartan* Nurſes

† *The places they call'd* ἀποθέτας, *or Store-houſes; an unnatural cuſtom.*

were often bought up, or hir'd by People of other Countries, and it is reported that ſhe who ſuckled *Alcibiades* was a *Spartan*: but if he was fortunate in his Nurſe, he was not ſo in his School-maſter; for his Guardian *Pericles* † (as *Plato* tells us) choſe a Slave for that Office call'd *Zopyrus*, nothing better than thoſe that row'd in a Galley. *Lycurgus* was of another mind, he would not have Maſters bought out of the Market, nor ſuch as ſhould ſell their pains, nor would he have any thing mercenary in ſo important a Charge.

† *In Alcib. priore.*

Nor was it lawful for the Father himſelf to breed up the Children after his own Fancy; but as ſoon as they were ſeven Years old, they were to be enroll'd in certain Companies and Claſſes, where they all liv'd under the ſame Orders and Diſcipline, doing their Exerciſes, and recreating themſelves together. Of theſe, he who ſhew'd the moſt Conduct and Courage, was made Captain; they had their Eyes always upon him, obeyed his Orders, and underwent patiently whatſoever puniſhment he inflicted: ſo that the whole Courſe of their Education was one continued Exerciſe of a ready and perfect Obedience. The old Men too were Spectators of their Performances, and oft-times hatch'd Quarrels, and ſet them together by the Ears, that by thoſe *early* Indications they might perfectly learn their Natures,

Their Exerciſes.

Natures, and know which would be valiant, which a Coward, when they ſhould come to more dangerous Encounters: As for Learning, they gave them juſt enough to ſerve their Turn; their chief Care was to make them good Subjects, to fit them to endure the *Fatigues of long and tedious Marches, and never to return without Victory from the Field.* To this end, as they grew in Years their Exerciſes were proportionably increas'd; their Heads were ſhav'd, they were accuſtomed to go bare-foot, and for the moſt part to play naked.

After they were twelve Years old, they were no longer allow'd to wear *double Garments*, one plain Coat ſerv'd them a whole Year: and being but very ſeldom bath'd and trimm'd, they were none of the neateſt and cleanlieſt Perſons in the World. They lodg'd together in little Bands upon Beds made of the Ruſhes which grew by the Banks of the River *Eurotas*, and becauſe their Points were ſharp they were to break them off with their Hands without a Knife: if it were a hard Winter, they mingled ſome Thiſtle-down with their Ruſhes; this kept them warm; and as well contented they were with it, as if it had been the beſt Feather-bed in the World. By that time they were come to this Age, there was not any of the more hopeful Lads who had not a Lover to bear him Company; the old Men too

Their Habit.

too had an Eye upon them, coming often to the Schools to hear and ſee them contend either in Wit or Strength with one another: And this they did as ſeriouſly and with as much Concern as if they were their Fathers, their Tutors, or their Magiſtrates; ſo that there ſcarcely paſſed a moment without putting them in mind of their duty, nor was there any place ſo privileg'd, but that they were puniſh'd if they had neglected it.

Beſides all this, there was always one of the beſt and honeſteſt Men in the City appointed to undertake the Charge and Governance of them: He again rang'd them into ſeveral little Bands, and ſet over each of them for their Captain the diſcreteſt and moſt metal'd of thoſe they call'd *Irenes*, (who were uſually twenty Years old, and thoſe who were about eighteen were call'd *Mell-Irenes*, as much as to ſay, who would ſhortly be Men:) this young Man therefore was their Captain when they fought, and their Maſter at home, uſing them for the Offices of his Houſe; ſending the ſturdieſt of them to fetch Wood, and the weaker and leſs able to gather Sallads and Herbs, and theſe they muſt either go without or ſteal them; and this they did by creeping into the Gardens, or conveying themſelves very cunningly and cloſely into the Eating-Houſes: And it concern'd them ſo to do, for

Their Diet.

for if they were taken in the fact, they were whip'd without Mercy; and that, not for want of *Honeſty*, but for want of *Wit*, becauſe they did not lay their deſign well, and were not fine and cunning in their faculty. They ſtole too all other Meat they could lay their hands on, looking out ſharp and watching all opportunities, when People were aſleep or more careleſs than uſual. If they were caught, they were not only puniſh'd with Whipping, but Hunger too, being reduc'd to their Ordinary, which was but very ſlender; and ſo contriv'd on purpoſe, that being preſs'd by Hunger, they might caſt about to help themſelves by ſome ſubtile Conveyance or adventurous Action: And this was the principal Deſign of their hard fare. Another there was not inconſiderable, that they might grow the better in tallneſs; for the vital Spirits not being overburden'd and oppreſſed by too great a quantity of Nouriſhment, (which neceſſarily diſcharges it ſelf into Thickneſs and Breadth) do by their natural Lightneſs and Agility mount upwards; and the Subſtance of the Body not being groſs, or in too great a quantity, does more eaſily follow the *faſhioning* Hand of Nature, whereas groſs and over-fed Bodies are ſtubborn and untractable, and ſhe can at beſt make but a bungling piece of work of them. This we find by Experience in Women who take Phyſick whilſt they are

Their Thievery.

are with Child; for tho the Children be by that means made ſomething leaner, and of a leſs ſize, yet are they, for the moſt part, lovely of Aſpect, and extraordinary well ſhap'd; the remaining Matter, after the Separation of the groſſer Humours, being more ſupple, and pliable, and recipient of its Form, which is always *exact* and *perfect* in its kind, when the Matter is capable of it. But whether this be the true Reaſon or not, I leave it to be determin'd by the *College* of *Phyſicians*.

To return from whence we have digreſſed; the *Lacedæmonian* Children were ſo very cautious and fearful of being diſcovered, that a Youth having ſtoln a young Fox and hid it under his Coat, ſuffer'd it to tear out his very Bowels with its Teeth and Claws, and ſo died upon the place, rather than he would diſcover it. What is practis'd to this very Day in *Lacedæmon* is enough to gain Credit to this Story, for my ſelf have ſeen ſeveral of them endure whipping to death at the foot of the Altar of *Diana*, ſirnamed *Orthia*.

Barbarous Superſtition.

The *Iren* or under Maſter, us'd to ſtay a little with them after Supper, and one of them he bid to ſing a Song: to another he put forth a Queſtion, which requir'd an adviſ'd and deliberate Anſwer; for example, Who was the beſt Man in the City? What he thought of ſuch an action of ſuch a Man?

Uſing

Uſing them thus early to paſs a right Judgment upon Perſons and Things, and to inform themſelves of the Abilities or Defects of their Countrymen: if they had not an Anſwer ready, they were look'd upon as of a *dull* and *careleſs Diſpoſition*, and to have little or no Senſe of Virtue and Honour: beſides this, they were to give a good Reaſon for what they ſaid, and in as few words and as comprehenſive as might be; he that failed of this, or anſwered not to the purpoſe (inſtead of a Ferula) had his Thumb bit by his Maſter. It ſo fell out ſometimes that the *Iren* did this in the preſence of the old Men and Magiſtrates, that they might ſee whether he puniſhed them juſtly and in due meaſure or not: and tho he did amiſs, they would not reprove him before his Scholars, (leſt it ſhould diminiſh their reſpect to him) but when they were gone, he himſelf was call'd to an account, and underwent a Correction too, if he had run far into either of the Extreams of Indulgence or Severity.

It is a thing remarkable, that their *Lovers* and *Favours* had a ſhare in the young Lad's Honour or Diſgrace: and there goes a Story, that one of them was fined by the Magiſtrates, becauſe the Lad whom he lov'd cry'd out effeminately as he was fighting, (by the way, ſo much in faſhion was this ſort of love among them, that the moſt *Their Lovers.*

ſtay'd and virtuous Matrons would own publickly their paſſion to a modeſt and beautiful Virgin.) And tho ſeveral mens fancies met in one perſon, yet did not this cauſe any Strangeneſs or Jealouſy among them, but was rather the beginning of a very intimate Friendſhip, whilſt they all jointly conſpir'd to render the belov'd Boy the moſt accompliſh'd in the World.

Their ſhort Sayings. They taught them alſo a natural and graceful way of ſpeaking, enlivened with a touch of inoffenſive Raillery, and comprehending a great deal of matter in few words. For *Lycurgus*, who ordered that a great piece of Money (as is aforeſaid) ſhould be but of an inconſiderable Value, on the contrary, would allow no Diſcourſe to be *current*, which did not contain in few words a great deal of uſeful and weighty Senſe: ſo that Children there by a habit of long Silence and Meditation, had ſuch a Preſence and Quickneſs of Mind as to give very ſurprizing Anſwers, and oft-times ſpeak Apothegms to the aſtoniſhment of the Hearers; whereas the Incontinence of the Tongue, like the other ſort of Incontinence, fruſtrates the ends of ſpeaking, as that does of Generation. From hence the Pithineſs of the *Laconian* Speech; an Inſtance of which we have in King *Agis*, who when a pert *Athenian* laugh'd at their ſhort Swords, and ſaid that the Jugglers and Mountebanks ſwallow'd

ſwallow'd them in the publick Shows and Theatres, anſwer'd him, and yet our Enemies cannot endure the ſight of them; and as their Swords were ſhort and ſharp, ſo were their Sayings: and truly in my judgment there is in this conciſe way of Speech, ſomething which I know better than I can expreſs, which flies *level* to the mark, and does more execution than a whole Volley of words ſhot at rovers. *Lycurgus* himſelf, who enjoined this manner of ſpeaking, was one of the beſt Examples of it, as appears by his Anſwer to one who by all means would have a popular Government in *Lacedæmon:* Begin Friend, ſaid he, and make a Trial in thy own Family. Another ask'd him why he allow'd of ſo mean and trivial Sacrifices to the Gods? he reply'd, That we may always have ſomething to offer to them. Being ask'd, what ſort of martial Exerciſes or Combates he approv'd of, anſwer'd, all ſorts, except that in which you † ſtretch out your hands. Many Sayings of the like force are to be found in the Letters which he occaſionally wrote to his Country-men; as being conſulted how they might beſt oppoſe an Invaſion of their Enemies, return'd this Anſwer, *By continuing poor, and not coveting to have one more than another.* Being conſulted again, whether it were requiſite to encloſe the City with a Wall, he ſent 'em word, *That City is well fortified which hath a Wall of*

† *The Form of crying Quarter among the Antients.*

Men inſtead of Brick. But as for theſe Letters, whether they be counterfeit or not, I think it no eaſy matter to determine, and therefore let every man think as he pleaſes: But that they were indeed Enemies to Talkativeneſs, theſe following Inſtances are an authentick and ſufficient Proof. King *Leonidas* told one who held him in Diſcourſe upon ſome uſeful things, and worthy his hearing, but not in due time and place, Sir, you are impertinent for ſpeaking in this place ſo much to the purpoſe. King *Charilaus*, the Nephew of *Lycurgus*, being ask'd why his Uncle had made ſo few Laws, anſwer'd, To Men of few Words few Laws are ſufficient. One blam'd *Hecateus* the Orator, becauſe that being invited to a Feaſt, he had not ſpoke one word all Supper-time: *Archidamus* anſwer'd in his Vindication, He who can ſpeak well knows when to ſpeak *too*.

I will now give an Inſtance or two of their ſharp Repartees, which, as I ſaid before, had a ſort of Pleaſantneſs with them, which made them to be the better excus'd. *Damaratus* being ask'd, in an † abuſive manner by an importunate Fellow, Who was the beſt Man in *Lacedæmon*? anſwered him, He, Sir, that is the leaſt like you. Some, in Company where *Agis* was, much extoll'd the exact Juſtice of the *Eleans*, who ſat as Judges at the Olympick Games; Indeed, ſays *Agis*, they are highly to be commended

† *He ſeems to allude to the Queſtions which us'd to be put to the young Lads, as, Who is the beſt man in* Sparta?

ded if they can do Juſtice once in the ſpace of five Years. *Theopompus* anſwered a Stranger, who brag'd that he was ſo much taken notice of for his love to the *Lacedæmonians*, that his Country-men from thence call'd him * φιλολάκων, that it had been more for his Honour if they had call'd him ‖ φιλοπολίτης. And *Pliſtonax*, the Son of *Pauſanias*, when an Orator of *Athens* ſaid the *Lacedæmonians* were an illiterate and ignorant People, told him, You ſay true, Sir, for we only of all the *Græcians* have learned none of your Ill Conditions. One asked *Archidamus* what number of fighting Men there might be of the *Spartans*, he anſwered, Enough, Sir, to drive out the wicked.

* *A lover of the* Lacedæmonians.

‖ *A lover of his own Country-men.*

We may gueſs too at their manner of ſpeaking by their very Jeſts. For they us'd not to throw them out at random, but the very Wit of them was grounded upon ſome conſiderable ſenſe. For inſtance, one being ask'd to go hear a Man who exactly counterfeited the Voice of a Nightingale, anſwered, Sir, I have heard the Nightingale it ſelf. Another having read this following Inſcription upon a Tomb,

Extinguiſhing *a cruel Tyranny*
At Selinum *theſe brave Patriots did die:*

made this clinch upon it, that they well deſerv'd to die, for inſtead of *extinguiſhing*

the Tyranny they ſhould have let it *burn out*. A Lad being offer'd ſome Cocks of the Game ſo hardy that they would die upon the place, ſaid, that he car'd not for Cocks that would die hardy, but for ſuch that would live and kill others. Another would by no means be carried home in a Chair, as he ſaw ſome others were, becauſe, ſaid he, I cannot conveniently riſe in it to pay Reſpect to my Betters. In ſhort, their Anſwers were ſo ſententious and pertinent, that one ſaid well, that to be a Philoſopher or a *Lacedæmonian* ſignified the ſame thing. And tho they were a very active People, they exerciſed their Minds much more than their Bodies.

Nor were they leſs careful to ſing and compoſe well, than to expreſs themſelves in proper Terms, and to ſpeak to the *Point*: And their very Songs had ſuch a Life and Spirit in them, that they enflam'd and raviſh'd mens Minds with a deſire to do great and good Actions; the ſtile of them was plain and without Affectation; the ſubject always ſerious and moral: moſt uſually it was in *praiſe* of ſuch Men as had dy'd in the *Bed of Honour* for defence of their Country, or in *Deriſion* of thoſe who would not venture their Lives willingly in ſo good a Cauſe. The former they declar'd happy, and almoſt Gods; and the latter they deſcrib'd as moſt miſerable, and below the Condition of

Their Poetry.

of Men. In theſe Verſes too they talk'd high of what Feats they would do or had done, and vaunted of themſelves as the braveſt and moſt valiant People in the World. The Expreſſion was different, and ſutable to their ſeveral Ages: for you muſt underſtand that they had three Choirs of them in their ſolemn Feſtivals, the firſt of the old Men, the ſecond of the young Men, and the laſt of the Children: (to give a taſt of them) the old Men began thus,

We have *been (tho now ſpent and old)*
Hardy in Field, in Battel Bold.

The young Men anſwer'd them, ſinging,

We are ſo now: *let who dares try,*
We'll conquer, or in Combat die.

The Children came laſt, and ſaid,

Whatever ye can * *do or* † *tell,*
We one Day will you both excel.

* *To the young men.*
† *To the old men.*

Indeed if we take the pains to conſider their Compoſitions, and the Airs on the Flute to which they were ſet when they march'd to Battel, we ſhall find that *Terpander* and *Pindar* had reaſon to ſay that Muſick was not incompatible with, but rather an help

and incentive to Valour. The firſt ſays thus of them;

Juſtice goes in proceſſion through their Streets,
And Mars *the* Muſes *in ſweet conſort meets.*

And *Pindar*——

Bleſt Sparta! *in whoſe State we find*
Things almoſt inconſiſtent join'd:
In quiet times your Martial-toils not ceaſe,
And War's adorn'd with the ſoft arts of Peace.
Gray-headed Wiſdom reigns in your Debates,
And well-bred Youth, with equal Fire,
Handle their Arms, or touch their Lyre;
Ye Gods, the Muſick of well order'd States!

So that theſe two Poets deſcribe the *Spartans* as being no leſs Muſical than Warlike, and the *Spartan* Poet himſelf confirms it:

Our Sports prelude *to War, and Muſick's charms*
Inſpire deliberate Valour *to our Arms.*

Their going to Battel. And even before they engag'd in Battel, the King did firſt ſacrifice to the Muſes (in all likelihood) to put them in mind of the manner of their Education, and of the ſevere Judgment that would be paſt upon their Actions, and thereby to animate them to the performance of ſome gallant Exploit: ſometimes too the *Lacedæmonians* abated a little the

the ſeverity of their Manners in favour of their young Men, ſuffering them to curl and perfume their Hair, and to have coſtly Arms and fine Clothes; and as well pleas'd they were to ſee them marching out full of Metal and Spirit to an Engagement, as the other *Græcians* were to ſee their trim'd Horſes neighing, and preſſing for the * Courſe. And therefore when they came to be well-grown Lads, they took a great deal of care of their Hair, to have it parted and trim'd, eſpecially againſt a Day of Battel, purſuant to a Saying of their Law-giver, that a large Head of Hair ſet off a good Face to more advantage, and thoſe that were ugly it made more ugly and dreadful.

* *He alludes to the Olympick Games.*

When they were in the Field their Exerciſes were generally more moderate, their Fare not ſo hard, nor ſo ſtrict a Hand held over them by their Officers, ſo that they were the only People in the World to whom *War* gave *repoſe*. When their Army was drawn up in Battel array, and the Enemy near, the King ſacrific'd a Goat, commanded the Soldiers to ſet their Garlands upon their Heads, and the Pipers to play the Tune of the Hymn to *Caſtor*; and himſelf advancing forwards, began the *Pæan*, which ſerv'd for a ſignal to fall on. It was at once a delightful and terrible ſight to ſee them march on to the Tune of their Flutes, without ever troubling their Order,

or confounding their Ranks, no diſorder in their Minds or change in their Countenance, but on they went to the hazard of their lives as unconcernedly and cheerfully, as if it had been to lead up a Dance, or to hear a Conſort of Muſick. Men in this temper were not likely to be poſſeſſed with *Fear*, or tranſported with *Fury*, but they proceeded with a *deliberate Valour*, full of hope and good aſſurance, as if ſome Divinity had ſenſibly aſſiſted them. The King had always about his Perſon ſome one who had been crown'd in the Olympick Games; and upon this account a *Lacedæmonian* refus'd a conſiderable Preſent, which was offered to him upon condition that he would not come into the Liſts; and having with much to do thrown his Antagoniſt, ſome of the Spectators ſaid to him, And now, Sir *Lacedæmonian*, what are you the better for your Victory? he anſwered ſmiling, O, a great deal, Sir, *for I ſhall have the Honour to fight by the ſide of my Prince.* After they had routed an Enemy, they purſu'd him till they were well aſſured of the Victory, and then they ſounded a Retreat, thinking it baſe and unworthy of a *Græcian* People, to cut Men in pieces who durſt not look them in the Face, or lift up their Hands againſt them. This manner of dealing with their Enemies did not only ſhew their magnanimity, but had a politick end in it too;

too; for knowing that they kill'd only thoſe who made reſiſtance, and gave Quarter to the reſt, they generally thought it their beſt way to conſult their ſafety by flight. *Hippias* the Sophiſter ſays, that *Lycurgus* himſelf was a very valiant and experienced Commander. *Philoſtephanus* attributes to him the firſt diviſion of the Cavalry into * Troops of fifties in a ſquare Body: but *Demetrius* the *Phalerian* ſays quite the contrary, and that he made all his Laws in a continued Peace. And indeed the Ceſſation of Arms procured by his means and management, inclines me to think him a good-natur'd Man, and one that lov'd Quietneſs and Peace. Notwithſtanding all this *Hermippus* tells us, he had no Hand in the Ordinance, that *Iphitus* made it, and *Lycurgus* came only as a Spectator, and that by mere accident too. Being there he heard a voice of one behind him, blaming, and wondring at him that he did not encourage his Countrymen to reſort to ſo Illuſtrious an Aſſembly; turning about and ſeeing no Man, he concluded it was a Voice from Heaven, and thereupon immediately went to *Iphitus*, and was aſſiſtant to him in ordering the Ceremonies of that Feaſt, which by his means were better eſtabliſh'd, more famous and magnificent than before that time they were.

* Ἴλαμοι, *Twelve in a ſide, the Captain and Lieutenant excepted.*

To return to the *Lacedæmonians*. Their Diſcipline and Order of Life continued ſtill after they were full grown Men. No one was allowed to live after his own fancy; but the whole City reſembled a great Camp, in which every Man had his ſhare of Proviſions, and Buſineſs ſet out, and look'd upon himſelf not ſo much born to ſerve his own Ends as the Intereſt of his Country. Therefore if they were commanded nothing elſe, they went to ſee the Lads perform their Exerciſes, to teach them ſomething uſeful, or to learn it themſelves of thoſe who knew better. And here I cannot but declare my Opinion, that one of the greateſt Bleſſings *Lycurgus* procur'd to his People was, the abundance of leiſure, which proceeded from his forbidding to them the Exerciſe of any mean and mechanical Trade; for it was but loſt labour to waſt themſelves with Anxiety and Toil, to heap together a great deal of Mony, which when they had got was but uſeleſs lumber in their Houſe: for the *Ilotes* till'd their Ground for them, and paid them yearly in kind the quantity above-mention'd, without any trouble of theirs. To this purpoſe there goes a Story of a *Lacedæmonian*, who happen'd to be at *Athens* in Aſſizes time, in which a Citizen had been puniſh'd for *Idleneſs*, and came home much diſcontented and comfortleſs: the

the *Lacedæmonian* was much ſurpriz'd at it, and deſired his Friend to ſhew him the man who was condemn'd for *living like a Gentleman*: ſo much beneath them they eſteemed all mechanical Employments, and the care of heaping up riches.

I need not tell you that upon the prohibition of Gold and Silver all Law-ſuits immediately ceas'd, for there was now no *griping* avarice, or poverty oppreſſed, but equality with abundance, and a quiet life with ſobriety. All their time (except when they were in the Field) was taken up in dancing, in feaſting, in their exerciſes, and hunting matches, or * places where good company us'd to meet. Thoſe who were under thirty years of age were not allow'd to go into the Market-place, but had the neceſſaries of their Family ſupply'd by the care of their Relations and Lovers: nor was it for the credit of elderly men to be ſeen too often in the Market-place; it was eſteem'd more honourable for them to frequent the Academies and places of Converſation, where they diſcours'd agreeably, not of the price of *Pepper*, and intereſt of Mony, but gravely paſs'd their judgment on ſome action worth conſidering; extol'd the good, and blam'd thoſe who were otherwiſe, and that in a facetious way; ſo that the *Feather* of the Jeſt made the *Arrow* pierce the deeper, and left ſome

How they ſpent their time.

* *Theſe were call'd* λέσχαι.

ſome uſeful remark or correction behind it. Nor was *Lycurgus* himſelf ſo ſullen and cynically grave, but that now and then he would ruffle his gravity, and * ſacrifice an hour to the little God of *Laughter*, to whom he dedicated a Statue in his Houſe, to the end that by ſprinkling and ſeaſoning their Converſations with mirth, they might more willingly endure the trouble of their ſtrict and hard life. To conclude this, he bred up his Citizens in ſuch ſort, that they neither *would*, nor *could* live by themſelves, but endeavouring to incorporate them all together, like *ſwarms* of Bees in a cluſter about their *King*; wholly diveſting themſelves of their own narrow intereſts, and forgetting themſelves by the continual extaſy they were in to promote the publick Intereſts and Honour. What their Sentiments were will better appear by a few of their Sayings. *Pædaretus* not being admitted into the Liſt of the three hundred who were choſen to make good the Paſs at the *Thermopyle*, return'd home very joyful and well pleas'd; ſaying, That it did his heart good to find that there were in *Sparta* three hundred better men than himſelf. And *Piſiſtratidas* being ſent with ſome other Ambaſſador to the Lords Lieutenants of the King of *Perſia*, being ask'd by them, Whether they came of their own accord, or were ſent by the State?

* *This is reported by* Solinus.

This exploit is excellently deſcrib'd by Herodotus, *lib.* 7.

The publick Spirit of the Spartans.

State? answered, That if they obtain'd what they came for, they were commission'd by the Publick; if not, they came of themselves. *Argileonide* asking some strangers who came from *Amphipolis*, if her Son *Brasidas* dy'd courageously, and as became a *Spartan*, they fell a praising him to a high degree, and said, There is not such another left in *Sparta*: She took them up short, Hold, Gentlemen, *Brasidas* indeed was a valiant Man, but there are still in *Sparta* many more valiant than he.

The Senate (as I said before) consisted of them who were his chief aiders and assistants in the forming of the Government, and the vacancies he ordered to be supply'd out of the best and most deserving men who were full threescore years old: and we need not wonder if there was much striving and stickling for it; for what more glorious competition could there be among men than this, in which it was not * disputed, who should bear away the prize of swiftness, or strength, but who was the *wisest* and most *virtuous* man in the City, to whom should be intrusted for ever after (as the reward of his merits) the Power and Authority of the whole Commonwealth, and in whose hands should be deposited the Honour, the Lives and Fortunes of all his Country-men. The manner of their

* *As it was in the Olympick Games.*

The manner of their Elections.

their Election was as follows: The People being called together, ſome perſons deputed by the Senate, were lock'd up in a Room near the place of Election, which was ſo contriv'd that they could neither ſee nor be ſeen by the Competitors or People, but only hear the noiſe of the Aſſembly without. (For they decided this, as moſt other affairs of moment, by the ſhouts of the People.) This done, the Competitors were not brought in, and preſented altogether, but one after another, as by lot fell out, and through the Aſſembly they paſs'd in order without ſpeaking a word. Thoſe who were lock'd up, had writing Tables with them, in which they ſet down the number of the ſhouts and the greatneſs of them, without knowing to which of the Candidates each of them were made. But he who was found to have the moſt and loudeſt acclamations, was declar'd *Senator* duly elected. Upon this he had a Garland ſet upon his head, and went in proceſſion to all the Temples to give thanks to the Gods: a great number of young men followed him, making the Streets to eccho with his praiſes: The young Ladies too ſung Verſes in his honour, and a bleſſed man they call'd him who had led ſo virtuous a Life. As he went round the City in this manner, each of his Relations invited him into his Houſe

Houſe to a handſom Supper, ſaying, *The City honours you with this Banquet:* but he, inſtead of accepting their Invitation, returned to the place where he formerly us'd to eat, and was ſerv'd as before, excepting that now he had a * *double allowance.* By that time Supper was ended, all the Women who were of kin to him were got about the Door; and he beckoning to her whom he moſt eſteem'd, preſented to her the Portion he had ſav'd, ſaying withal, *This was given me to Day as a reward of my Virtue, I preſent it to you as an acknowledgment of yours:* upon this ſhe was triumphantly waited upon home by the Women, as he was by the Men.

The Antients never invited any one to Dinner.

* *This was the manner of the Eaſtern Countries to expreſs their reſpect to any one, and from them probably the* Græcians *took it.*

As touching Burials, *Lycurgus* made very wiſe Orders: for firſt of all, to cut off the Superſtition of Burying-places, he allow'd them to bury their dead within the City, and even round about their Temples, to the end that their Youth might be uſed to ſuch Spectacles, and not be afraid to ſee a dead Body; and withal to rid them of the Conceit, that to touch a Corps, or to tread upon a Grave, would defile a Man. In the next place he commanded them to *bury in Woollen* (which Cloth was to be red) and put nothing elſe into the Ground with them, except, if they pleas'd, a few * Branches of Leaves of Olive. He would not allow of *Talkative Grave-ſtones*, nor ſuffer

The manner of their Burials.

Other People generally buried them without their Walls, and long after took up the cuſtom of burning them.

† *To intimate that then they are in peace and at reſt.*

ſuffer ſo much as the names to be inſcrib'd, but only of ſuch Men who dy'd in the Wars, or Women who were profeſs'd of ſome Religious Order. The time too appointed for Mourning was very ſhort; for it laſted but eleven days, and on the twelfth they were to do Sacrifice to *Proſerpina*, and leave off their Mourning: ſo that we may ſee as he cut off all ſuperfluity, ſo in things neceſſary there was nothing ſo ſmall and trivial which had not ſome profitable Leſſon and Inſtruction in it, and caus'd an emulation of Virtue or hatred to Vice. All *Lacedæmon* was like a *great Volume*, every *Leaf* of which was fill'd with good Rules, and great Examples: which preſenting themſelves at all times and in all places to their thoughts, did inſenſibly *aſſimilate* the minds of the lookers on, and force them to imitate that always which they could not but meet with every where.

He forbids travelling into other Countries.

And this was the reaſon why he forbid them to travel into foreign Countries, *viz.* leſt they ſhould bring in foreign *Vices* and *Vanities* along with them: he thought it a moſt ſenſeleſs thing to take a Journey into *another Climate*, to learn what *Clothes* they ſhould wear the *next Winter*; and to think themſelves beſieged and half undone if they were forc'd to drink the *Liquors* of their *own* Country. Beſides, this itch after

after Novelty encreaſing, makes men think of innovations in matters of more importance, and to deſire new *forms* and *faſhions* in the Government too. Withal he baniſhed all Strangers from *Lacedæmon* who could not give a very good reaſon for their coming thither; not becauſe he was afraid they ſhould inform themſelves of and imitate his manner of Government, (as *Thucidides* would have it believed) but leſt they ſhould introduce ſomething contrary to good manners: for ſtrange Perſons bring uſually ſtrange Diſcourſe along with them, that produces new Thoughts and Perſuaſions, and different Opinions deſtroy the harmony of Converſation and civil Society; and therefore as careful he was to keep out all foreign cuſtoms, as men uſually are to keep out ſuſpected perſons in the time of a reigning Peſtilence.

Hitherto, * I for my part can ſee no ſign of injuſtice or want of equity in the Conſtitutions of this Commonwealth, and therefore I can by no means agree with thoſe, who ſay they are very well contriv'd to make men good Soldiers, but exceedingly defective in civil Juſtice and Honeſty. But as for that *ſecret* Ordinance (if it were one of *Lycurgus*'s, as *Ariſtotle* ſays it was) it is truly enough to put him and *Plato* too out of conceit both

* *Therefore he approves their murdering their Infants.*

ἡ κρυπτία.

both with the Law-giver and his Government. By this Ordinance thoſe who had the care of the young men, diſpatch'd privately ſome of the ableſt of them into the Country from time to time; arm'd only with their Daggers, and taking a little neceſſary Proviſion with them, theſe in the day-time hid themſelves in the Thickets and Clifts, and there lay cloſe, but in the night they iſſued out into the High-ways and kill'd all the *Ilotes* they could light upon: ſometimes they ſet upon them by day, as they were at work in the Fields, and murder'd them in cold Blood, as *Thucidides* ſays in his Hiſtory of the *Peloponneſian* War. The ſame Author tells us, that a good number of them being * crowned by Proclamation, and enfranchiſed for their good ſervices, and led about to all the Temples in token of honour, diſappeared all of a ſudden, being about the number of two thouſand; and no man neither then nor ſince could give an account how they came by their deaths. And *Ariſtotle* adds, that the *Ephori*, ſo ſoon as they were entered into their Office, us'd to declare War againſt them, that they might be maſſacred with a pretence of *Law*. It is confeſs'd on all hands, that the *Spartans* dealt with them very hardly; for it was a thing common

* *In token of Freedom granted.*

to

to force them to drink to exceſs, and to lead them in that Condition into their publick Halls, that their Children might ſee what *a contemptible and beaſtly ſight a drunken Man is:* they made them to dance uncomely Dances, and ſing ridiculous Songs, forbidding them expreſly to meddle with any that were ſerious, for they *would not have them prophaned by their Mouths.* Upon this account when the *Thebans* made an Invaſion into *Laconia*, and took a great number of the *Ilotes* Priſoners, they could by no means perſuade them to ſing the Odes of * *Terpander*, *Alcman*, or *Spendon*; for (ſaid they) they are our *Maſter's Songs*, we dare not ſing them. So that it was truly obſerv'd by one, that in *Sparta* he who was free was moſt ſo, and he that was a Slave there was the greateſt Slave in the World. For my part I am of Opinion that theſe Outrages and Cruelties began to be exercis'd in *Sparta* long after the time of *Lycurgus*, namely, ſoon after the great Earthquake, at which time the *Ilotes* made a general Inſurrection, and, joining with the *Meſſenians*, laid the whole Country waſte, and brought the City to the greateſt extremity it had ever been reduc'd to: For I cannot be perſuaded that ever *Lycurgus* invented or put in force ſo wicked and barbarous an Act as † this was, eſpecially when I look back upon the

* Lacedæmonian *Poets.*

† *The ſecret Ordinance.*

Gentleneſs of his Diſpoſition, and his unprejudic'd Juſtice upon all other occaſions; not to ſay that it were a piece of high *Impiety* to think hard of him, ſince † *God* himſelf hath given ſo great a Character of his Virtue.

† *The Oracle abovemention'd.*

To draw now towards the laſt Scenes of his Life; when he perceiv'd that his Laws had taken deep root in the Minds of his Country-men, that Cuſtom had rendred them familiar and eaſie, that his Commonwealth grew apace *daily*, and was *now able to go alone*, he had ſuch a *calm* Joy and Contentation of Mind, as † *Plato* ſomewhere tells us the Maker of the World had, when he had finiſh'd and ſet this *great Machine* a moving, and found every thing *very good*, and exactly to anſwer his *great Idea:* So *Lycurgus*, taking an unſpeakable Pleaſure in the Contemplation of the *Greatneſs* and *Beauty* of his Work, ſeeing every Spring and Particle of his new Eſtabliſhment in its due Order and Courſe, at laſt he conceived a vaſt Thought to make it *immortal* too, and as far as Human Forecaſt could reach, to deliver it down *unchangeable* to Poſterity. To bring this to paſs, he called an extraordinary Aſſembly of all the People, he told them that he now thought every thing reaſonably well eſtabliſh'd, both for the good of the Publick, and for the Happineſs

† *In Timæo.*

neſs of each particular; but that there was one thing ſtill behind, and that of the greateſt Importance, which he thought not fit to impart until he had conſulted the Oracle: In the mean time his Deſire was, that they would punctually obſerve his Laws without any the leaſt alteration until his *Return*, and then he would do as the God ſhould direct him. They all conſented readily, and pray'd him to haſten his Voyage; but before he departed he adminiſtred an Oath to the two Kings, the Senate and Commons, that they would inviolably obſerve his Ordinances during his abſence. This done, he ſet ſail for *Delphos*; and having ſacrific'd to *Apollo*, ask'd him, *Whether he approv'd of the Laws he had eſtabliſh'd?* The Oracle anſwer'd, *That his Laws were excellent, and that the People who obſerv'd them ſhould live in Happineſs and Renown.* *Lycurgus* took the Oracle in writing, and ſent it over to *Sparta*; having ſacrific'd the ſecond time to *Apollo*, and taken his leave of his Friends, and his Son, he reſolv'd to die in his Voyage, that the *Spartans* might never be releas'd from the Oath they had taken. He was now about that Age, in which Life was ſtill *tolerable*, and yet a *wiſe Man* would *die* without *Regret*; eſpecially when he conſider'd, *That Death then comes ſeaſonably when Life is at*

Lycurgus *pines himself to death.*

the beſt. He reſolv'd therefore to make an end of himſelf by a total Abſtinence from Meat, and even dying to ſet a Copy of *Temperance* to his Countrymen; for he thought that a Stateſman and good Patriot ſhould ſerve his Country with his laſt Breath, and that the end of their Lives ſhould be no more idle and unprofitable than all that went before; eſpecially ſince all Men have a Curioſity to know the end of great Perſonages, and *believe* moſt firmly, and remember *longeſt* what they *did* or *ſaid* dying: and in this he had a double end, the one to ſecure and crown his own Happineſs, by a Death ſutable to ſo honourable a Life; and the other, that it might be a Seal and Confirmation of his Laws, eſpecially ſince his Countrymen had ſolemnly ſworn the Obſervation of them until his Return. Nor was he deceived in his Expectations, for the City of *Lacedæmon* continued the chief City of all *Greece* for the ſpace of five hundred Years, mainly by their ſtrict Obſervance of *Lycurgus*'s Laws; in all which time there was no manner of alteration made during the Reign of fourteen Kings, until the time of *Agis* the Son of *Archidamus*. For the new Creation of the *Ephori* († who at firſt were choſen in favour of the People) were ſo far from diminiſhing,

† Tribunes *too were eſtabliſh'd at* Rome *to maintain the privileges of the People, but in time they prov'd the ruin of the popular Government.*

miniſhing, that they very much confirm'd the Power of the Senate.

In the time of *Agis* Gold and Silver found a way into *Sparta*, and all thoſe Miſchiefs which attend the immoderate Deſire of Riches. *Lyſander* promoted much this Diſorder, for by bringing in rich Spoils from the Wars, altho himſelf was incorrupt, yet by this means he fill'd his Country with Avarice and Luxury, directly againſt the Laws and Ordinances of *Lycurgus*; which ſo long as they were in force, *Sparta* reſembled ſome holy Perſonage or particular Philoſopher (ſo unanimous they were, and, as it were, *acted* by *one* Soul) rather than a great Commonwealth and Metropolis of an Empire. And as the Poets feign of *Hercules*, that with his Lion's Skin and his Club, he went over the World, puniſhing the wicked and extirpating Tyrants; ſo may it be ſaid of the *Lacedæmonians*, that with a piece of † Parchment and a plain Frieze Coat, they gained the Soveraignty of *Greece*, and (which is more) their *Affections* too; they depoſed all uſurp'd Powers, were the *Commanders* in War, and the *Arbiters* of Peace, and Judges in Civil Differences or Seditions: and this they often did, without ſo much as taking their Buckler in their hand, but barely by ſending ſome *plain Man*, without *Attendance*,

† *The* σκυτάλη.

who went under the Character of the *Lacedæmonian* Ambaſſador; and they ſwarm'd about him at his coming, like Bees about their King, to receive his Orders; which, without ſaucy Remonſtrances and Proviſo's they immediately put in execution. Such a Veneration they had for the Equity and good Conduct of this illuſtrious Commonwealth.

And therefore I cannot but wonder at thoſe who ſay, that the *Spartans* were good and obedient Subjects, but not skill'd in the Art of Governing; and for Proof of it alledg a Saying of King *Theopompus*, who when one ſaid that *Sparta* held up ſo long, becauſe their Kings *could command well*, he reply'd, nay, rather, becauſe *the People know ſo well how to obey:* For indeed *thoſe who cannot command wiſely*, are ſeldom or never well ſerv'd; on the other hand, *a skilful Leader is always readily followed.* And as it is the part of a good Rider to train his Horſe to turn, or ſtop, or go on at his Pleaſure; ſo is it the greateſt piece of † *King-craft* to teach their Subjects *Obedience:* Wherefore the *Lacedæmonians* ſo ordered Matters, that People did not only *endure*, but even *deſir'd* to be their Subjects. For they did not uſe to petition them for Ships, or Money, or a Supply of armed Men, but only for a *Spartan Commander*;

† βασιλικὴ ἐπιστήμη.

mander; and having obtain'd one, us'd him with Honour and Reverence: for ſo the *Sicilians* behav'd themſelves to *Gilippus*, the *Chalcidians* to *Braſidas*, and all the *Colonies* of the *Grecians* in *Aſia* to *Lyſander*, *Ageſilaus* and *Callicratidas*. In ſhort, they eſteem'd and call'd them the *Peacemakers*, the Reformers, the Correctors of the Licence both of Princes and People; and had their Eyes always upon the City of *Sparta*, as the perfect Model of good Manners and wiſe Government. The reſt ſeem'd as *Scholars*, they were the Maſters of *Greece*; and to this *Stratonicus* pleaſantly alluded, when in Merriment he pretended to make a Law, that the *Athenians* ſhould keep Proceſſions in the Myſteries of *Ceres*, the *Eleans* ſhould diſpoſe of the Prizes at the Olympick Games (as being beſt skill'd in Matters of this nature) and that if either of them did amiſs, the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould be *well beaten*. *Antiſthenes* too, one of the Scholars of *Socrates*, ſaid well of the *Thebans*, who were become very proud for their ſingle Victory at † *Leuctres*, *That they look'd like School-boys who newly had beaten their Maſter*. Theſe indeed were merry Sayings, but yet may ſerve to teſtify the Opinion Men then had of the *Spartans*.

† *By the Conduct of* Epaminondas.

However it was not the Deſign of *Lycurgus*, that his City ſhould govern a great

many others; he thought rather that the Happineſs of a Kingdom, as of a private Man, conſiſted chiefly in the Exerciſe of Virtue, and mutual Love of the Inhabitants: his principal aim was to make them nobly minded, content with their own, not apt to follow vain Hopes, but moderate in all their Enterpriſes; and by conſequence able to maintain themſelves and continue long in Safety. And therefore all thoſe who have written well of Politicks, as *Plato*, *Diogenes*, *Zeno*, and ſeveral others, have taken *Lycurgus* for their Model, as appears by their Writings: but theſe great Men left only vain Projects and Words behind them; whereas *Lycurgus*, without writing any thing, left a flouriſhing Government, which as it was never thought of before him, ſo can it ſcarcely be imitated in following Ages; ſo that he ſtands for an undeniable Proof, that a *perfect* wiſe Man was not ſo meer a Notion and Chimæra as ſome Men thought. He hath obliged the World not with one ſingle Man, but with a whole Nation of Philoſophers, and therefore deſerves Preference before all other Statiſts, becauſe he put that in practice of which they only had the Idæa. † *Ariſtotle* himſelf was ſo convinc'd of his Merit, that he acknowledges they did him leſs Honour after his Death than he deſerv'd, altho they built Tem-

He ſeems to reflect upon the Athenians, *who ruin'd their State by ſtriving raſhly to enlarge it.*

† *None of the kindeſt Judges of thoſe who went before him.*

† ples,

ples, and offered Sacrifice to him as to a God.

It is reported that when his Bones were brought home to *Sparta*, they were ſtruck with Lightning; an accident which befel no eminent Perſon but himſelf and *Euripides*, who was buried at *Arethuſa* a City of *Macedon*: and this may ſerve for Conſolation to thoſe who have an honour for that * excellent Poet, That he had the ſame fate with that holy Man and Favourite of the Gods. Some ſay *Lycurgus* died in the City of *Cirrha*, † others, that he died at *Elis*, and others at *Crete*, in a Town of which (call'd *Pergamy*) his Tomb was to be ſeen cloſe by the high-way ſide: He left but one Son, nam'd *Antiorus*, who died without Iſſue. His Relations and Friends kept an annual Commemoration of him, and the Days of the Feaſt were called *Lycurgides*. *Ariſtocrates*, the Son of *Hipparcus*, ſays that he died in *Crete*, and that the *Candiots*, at his Deſire, when they had burn'd his Body, caſt the aſhes into the Sea, for fear that if his *Reliques* ſhould be tranſported to *Lacedæmon*, the People might pretend themſelves releaſed from their Oaths, and make Innovations in the Government.

* *For* Euripides *was accuſed of Atheism.*

† Appolythemis, Timæus, *and* Ariſtoxanes.

And thus much may ſuffice for the Life and Actions of Lycurgus.

THE

THE

LIFE

OF

NUMA POMPILIUS.

Engliſh'd from the Greek, by
Sir *Paul Rycaut.*

The Romans *ambitious of Conſanguinity to* Numa.

THough many Noble Families of *Rome* derive their Original from *Numa Pompilius*, yet there is great diverſity amongſt Hiſtorians concerning the Time in which he reigned: A certain Writer called *Clodius*, in a Book of his entituled, *The Chronology of paſt times*, avers, that the antient Regiſters of *Rome* were loſt when that City was ſacked by the *Gauls*, and that thoſe which are now extant, are counterfeited to flatter and ſerve the Humour of great Men, who are pleaſed to have

Numa Pompilius.

BIBLIOTHECA · BODLEIANA

have their Pedigree derived from ſome antient and noble Lineage, tho in reality that Family hath no relation to them: And tho it be commonly reported, that *Numa* was a Scholar, and a familiar Acquaintance of *Pythagoras*; yet it is again contradicted by thoſe, who affirm, that he neither was acquainted with the *Grecian* Language, nor Learning; and that he was a Perſon of that natural Talent and Abilities of Mind, as of himſelf to attain unto Virtue; or elſe that his Inclinations were cultivated by ſome foreign Inſtructor, whoſe Rules and Doctrine were more exellent and ſublime than thoſe of *Pythagoras*. Some affirm alſo, that *Pythagoras* was not a contemporary with *Numa*, but lived at leaſt five Ages after him. Howſoever it is probable, that ſome other *Pythagoras*, a Native of *Sparta*, who, in the third Year of *Numa*'s Reign, which was about the ſixteenth Olympiad, won a Prize at the *Olympick* Race, might be the Perſon, who, in his Travels through *Italy*, having gained an Acquaintance and Familiarity with *Numa*, might adminiſter ſome Directions and Rules to him for the Conſtitution of his Kingdom; for which Reaſon, at the Inſtigation of this *Pythagoras*, many of the *Laconian* Laws and Cuſtoms might probably be introduced amongſt the *Roman* Inſtitutions.

Various reports concerning him.

ons. Nor is it true, that *Numa* was deſcended of the *Sabins*, who declar'd themſelves to be a Colony of the *Lacedæmonians*; nor can we make any juſt Calculate from the Periods of the *Olympick* Games, which tho lately publiſh'd by one *Elias Hippia*, yet carry not ſufficient Force of Argument and Authority to render them authentick. Wherefore what we have collected of moſt aſſured Truth concerning *Numa*, we ſhall deliver, taking our beginning from that place which is moſt pertinent to our purpoſe.

It was the thirty ſeventh Year, accounted from the Foundation of *Rome*, when *Romulus* then reigning, did on the fifth day of the Month of *July*, call'd the Capratine Nones, offer a publick Sacrifice at the Lake of *Capra*, in preſence of the Senate and People of *Rome*: But then on a ſudden aroſe ſo furious a Tempeſt, which, with black Clouds and Thunder rending the Air, made an Eruption on the Earth, which affrighted the common People with ſuch Confuſion, that they fled and were diſpers'd.

The Fate of Romulus. In this Whirlwind *Romulus* diſappear'd, his Body being never ſince found either living or dead. This Accident gave occaſion to the World to cenſure very hardly the practice of the Patricians; as if that they, being weary of Kingly Government, and exaſperated of late by the imperious Deportment

ment of *Romulus* towards them, had plotted againſt his Life and made him away, that ſo they might aſſume the Authority and Government into their own hands: but this report was ſoon confuted by the Teſtimony of *Proculus*, a noble Perſon, who ſwore that he ſaw *Romulus* catch'd up into Heaven in his Arms and Veſtments, and as he aſcended cry'd out, that they ſhould hereafter ſtyle him by the Name of *Quirinus*; which Atteſtation gained ſo much Credit in the Minds of the People, that they ordain'd Divine Honours to be perform'd towards him, as one not dead but tranſlated to a ſublimer State, above the Condition of mortal Nature.

Whence named Quirinus.

This Commotion being appeas'd, the City was greatly divided about the Election of another King; for the Minds of the antient *Romans*, and the new Inhabitants were not as yet grown into that perfect Union and Coalition of Spirits, but that there were diverſities of Factions amongſt the Commonalty, and Jealouſies and Emulations amongſt the Senators: for tho all agreed that it was neceſſary to have a King, yet what Perſon or of what Nation was the Diſpute. For thoſe who had been Builders of the City with *Romulus*, tho they had already yielded a ſhare of their Lands and Dwellings to the *Sabins*, who were Aliens, yet could not be perſuaded to reſign into their

A conteſt in Rome *about chuſing a King.*

their Hands the Regal Authority. On the other ſide the *Sabins* alledg'd, that their King *Tatius* being deceas'd, they had peaceably ſubmitted to the Obedience of *Romulus*, ſo that now their Turn was come to have a King choſen out of their own Nation; nor did they eſteem themſelves inferiour to the *Romans*, nor to have contributed leſs than they to the Increaſe of *Rome*, which, without their Numbers and Aſſociation, could never have merited the Name of a City.

Thus did both Parties argue and diſpute their Cauſe; but leſt in the mean time Sedition and Diſcord ſhould occaſion Anarchy and Confuſion in the Commonwealth, it was agreed and ordained, That the hundred and fifty Senators ſhould interchangably execute the Office of Supreme Magiſtrate, and with all the Formalities and Rites of Regality offer the ſolemn Sacrifices, and diſpatch Judicial Cauſes for the ſpace of ſix Hours by Day and ſix by Night: the which Viciſſitude and equal Diſtribution of Power would remove all Emulation from amongſt the Senators, and Envy from the People; when they could behold one elevated to the degree of a King, level'd in a few hours after to the private Condition of a Subject: which Form of Government was termed by the *Romans*, *Interregnum*. Nor yet could this plauſible and modeſt way

way of Rule eſcape the Cenſure of the vulgar, who termed it a Deſign of ſome few, who, to aboliſh the Kingly Government, intended to get the Power into their own Hands: and therefore to circumvent this Plot, they came at length to this Concluſion, that the Party which did elect ſhould chuſe one out of the Body of the other; that if the *Romans* were Electors, they were to make choice of a *Sabin*, and if the *Sabins* elected, they were to chuſe a *Roman*. This was eſteemed the beſt Expedient to reconcile all Parties and Intereſts, for that the created Prince would be obliged to favour the one for their Suffrages in his Election, as he was the other on ſcore of Relation and Conſanguinity. In purſuance of this Agreement the *Sabins* remitted the Choice to the antient *Romans*, being more inclinable to receive a *Sabin* King elected by the *Romans*, than to ſee a *Roman* exalted by the *Sabins*. Conſultations being accordingly held, *Numa Pompilius*, of the *Sabin* Race, was elected; a Perſon ſo famous, and of that high Reputation, that tho he were not actually reſiding at *Rome*, yet no ſooner was he nominated than accepted by the *Sabins* with Applauſe and Acclamation, equal to that Freedom which the *Romans* ſhew'd in his Election.

Their final determination.

Numa *choſen King.*

The Choice being declar'd and made publick, Principal Men of both Parties were appointed

pointed to compliment and intreat the Prince, that he would be pleas'd to accept the Administration of the Kingly Government. Now this *Numa* resided at a famous City of the *Sabins* called *Cures*, whence both the *Romans* and *Sabins* gave themselves the name of *Quirites*, as a comprehensive name for both Associates. *Pomponius*, an illustrious Person, was his Father, and he the youngest of his four Sons, being by Divine Providence born on the eleventh of the Kalends of *May*, which was the day on which the Foundation of *Rome* was laid: he was endued with a Soul rarely temper'd by Nature, and disposed to Virtue, and excellently improved by Learning, Patience, and the Studies of Philosophy; by which advantages of Art he regulated the disorderly Motions of the Mind, and rendred Violence and Oppression, which had once an honourable Esteem amongst the barbarous Nations, to be vile and mean; making it appear, that there was no other Fortitude than that which subdu'd the Affections, and reduc'd them to the Terms and Restraints of Reason.

The Romans *whence call'd* Quirites.

Numa's *Stock and Education.*

Thus whilst he banish'd all Luxury and Softness from his own home, he gave a clear and manifest Indication to all Citizens and Strangers of his sound and impartial Judgment, not delighting himself in Divertisements or profitable Acquisitions, but in the Worship

worſhip of the immortal Gods, and in the rational contemplation of their Divine Power and Nature; to all which renown and fame, he added this farther Glory, that he took *Tatia* for his Wife, who was the Daughter of that *Tatius*, whom *Romulus* had made his Aſſociate in the Government. Nor yet did the advantage of this Marriage ſwell his vanity to ſuch a pitch as to deſire to dwell with his Father-in-Law at *Rome*; but rather to content himſelf to inhabit with his *Sabins*, and cheriſh his own Father in his old Age: The like inclinations had alſo *Tatia*, who preferred the private condition of her Husband before the honours and ſplendour ſhe might have enjoyed in her Father's Court. This *Tatia*, as is reported, after ſhe had lived for the ſpace of thirteen years with *Numa* in conjugal ſociety, died; and then *Numa*, leaving the converſation of the Town, betook himſelf to a Country life, and in a ſolitary manner dwelt in the Groves and Fields conſecrated to the Gods; where the common fame was, he gained ſuch acquaintance and familiarity with the Goddeſs *Ægeria*, that he liv'd in thoſe retirements free from all diſturbances and perturbations of mind; and being inſpired with the ſublime and elevated pleaſure of a Celeſtial Marriage, he had arrived to a beatitude in this life, and to a clear notion of Divine Sciences.

He marries Tatia.

Numa *intimate with the Goddeſs* Ægeria.

There is no doubt but that ſuch fancies as theſe have had their original from antient Fables; ſuch as the *Phrygians* recount of *Atis*, the *Bithynians* of *Herodotus*, the *Arcadians* of *Endymion*, and a thouſand other Demons, which paſt Ages recorded for Saints, that were beatified and beloved of the Gods. Nor doth it ſeem ſtrange, if God, who places not his affection on Horſes or Birds, ſhould not diſdain to dwell with the virtuous, and entertain a ſpiritual converſation with wiſe and devout Souls; tho it be altogether irrational to believe, that the Divine Eſſence of any God or Demon is capable of a ſenſual or carnal Love or Paſſion for human Beauty: And yet the wiſe *Egyptians* did not conceive it an abſurd fancy to imagin, that a Divine Eſſence might by a certain ſpiritual impulſe apply it ſelf to the nature of a Woman, and lay the firſt beginnings of Generation; tho on the other ſide they concluded it impoſſible for the Male-kind to have any congreſs or mixture with a Goddeſs, not conſidering that there can be no real coition, but where there is a mutual Communication of one to the other. The truth of the matter is this, thoſe Men are only dear to the Gods, who are virtuous, and thoſe are beloved by them whoſe actions are regulated by the rules of Divine Wiſdom: And therefore it was no error of thoſe who feigned, that

What perſons acceptable to the Gods.

that *Phorbas*, *Hyacinthus* and *Admetus* were beloved by *Apollo*; or that *Hippolytus* the *Sicyonian* was ſo much in the favour of a certain God, that as often as he ſailed from *Sicyon* to *Cirrha*, the God rejoiced and inſpired the *Pythian* Propheteſs with this heroick Verſe,

Now doth Hippolytus *return again,*
And venture his dear life upon the Main.

It is reported alſo that *Pan* became enamoured of *Pindar* for his Verſes, and that a beatified Demon honoured *Heſiod* and *Archilochus* after their Deaths by the Muſes: It is ſaid alſo that *Æſculapius* ſojourned with *Sophocles* in his life-time, of which many inſtances are extant to theſe days; and that being dead, another Deity took care to perform his Funeral-Rites. Wherefore if any credit may be given to theſe particular inſtances, why ſhould we judg it incongruous, that a like Spirit of the Gods ſhould inſpire *Zaleucus*, *Minos*, *Zoroaſter*, *Lycurgus*, *Numa*, or many others; or that the Gods ſhould confer a meaner proportion of their favours on thoſe who were Founders of Commonwealths, or buſied in making Laws, and adminiſtration of the Political affairs of Kingdoms? Nay it is moſt reaſonable to believe, that the Gods in their ſober humour are aſſiſtant at the Counſels

and ſerious Debates of theſe men to inſpire and direct them; as they do alſo Poets and Muſicians, when in a more pleaſant mood, they intend their own divertiſement: but, as *Bacchylis* ſaid, Thoughts are free, and the way is open to every man's ſentiment; yet in reality it cannot be denied, but that ſuch men, as *Lycurgus*, *Numa*, and others, who were to deal with the ſeditious humours of Fanatick Citizens, and the unconſtant diſpoſition of the Multitude, might lawfully eſtabliſh their Precepts with the pretence of Divine Authority, and cheat them into ſuch Politicks as tend to their own happineſs. But to return to our purpoſe.

Numa's *age when courted to be King.*

Numa was about forty Years of age when the Ambaſſadors came to make him offers of the Kingdom; the Speakers were *Proculus* and *Veleſus*: the firſt was an antient *Roman*, and the other of the *Tatian* Faction, and zealous for the *Sabin* Party. Their Speech was ſhort, but pithy, ſuppoſing, that when they came to tender a Kingdom, there needed no long Oration or Arguments to perſuade him to an acceptance: but contrary to their expectation they found that they were forc'd to uſe many reaſons and intreaties to allure him from his quiet and retir'd life, to accept the Government of a City, whoſe Foundation was laid in War, and grown up in martial Exerciſes; wherefore,

wherefore, in preſence of his Father and *Martius* his Kinſman, he returned anſwer in this manner: " That ſince every altera- " tion of a Man's life is dangerous to him, " it were mere madneſs for one that is com- " modious and eaſy, and provided with " all things neceſſary for a convenient ſup- " port, to ſeek or endeavour a change, " tho there were nothing more in it, " than that he prefers a turbulent and an " uncertain life before a quiet and a ſecure " condition. It is not difficult for a Man " to take his meaſures concerning the ſtate " of this Kingdom by the Example of *Ro-* " *mulus*, who did not eſcape a ſuſpicion, " of having plotted againſt the life of his " Collegue *Tatius*; nor was the Senate " free from the accuſation, of having trea- " ſonably murder'd their Prince *Romulus*. " And yet *Romulus* had the advantage to " be thought of Divine Race, and to be " conſerved by a miraculous manner in his " infancy; how then can we who are " ſprang from mortal Seed, and inſtructed " with principles and rudiments received " from the Men you know, be able to " ſtruggle with ſuch apparent difficulties? " It is none of the leaſt of my commenda- " tions, that my humour renders me unfit " to reign, being naturally addicted to ſtu- " dies, and pleaſed in the receſſes of a " quiet life. I muſt confeſs that I am zea-

His anſwer to the Am- baſſadors.

" lous of Peace, and love it even with paſ-
" ſion; and that the Converſation of Men
" who aſſembled together to worſhip God,
" and to maintain an amicable Charity, is
" my chief buſineſs and delight: and what
" time may be ſpared from this more ne-
" ceſſary Duty, I employ in cultivating my
" Lands, and improving my Farms. But
" you *Romans*, whom *Romulus* perhaps
" may have left engaged in unavoidable
" Wars, require an active and brisk King,
" who may cheriſh that warlike humour
" in the People, which their late Succeſſes
" have encouraged and excited to a warm
" ambition of enlarging their Dominions:
" and therefore ſuch a Prince as in this
" conjuncture ſhould come to inculcate
" Peace, and Juſtice, and Religion into
" the minds of the people, would appear
" ridiculous and deſpicable to them who
" reſolve on War and Violence, and re-
" quire rather a martial Captain than a
" pacifick Moderator.

The *Romans* perceiving by theſe words, that he refuſed to accept the Kingdom, were the more inſtant and urgent with him, that he would not forſake and deſert them in this condition, by ſuffering them to relapſe into their former ſedition and civil diſcord; which they muſt unavoidably do, if he accepted not their proffer, there being no Perſon, on whom both parties

ties could accord, but on himſelf: and at length his Father, and *Martius*, taking him aſide, perſuaded him to accept this offer, which was important, and rather was conferred from Heaven than from Men.

He is importun'd by his Father and Kinſman to accept it.

" Tho (ſaid they) you remain content-
" ed with your own Fortune, and court
" neither Riches nor Power, yet being
" endued with excellent Virtue, you may
" reaſonably imagine, that ſuch a Talent
" of Juſtice was not given by the Gods
" to be hidden or concealed; and that,
" ſince the juſt Government of a Kingdom
" is the greateſt ſervice a man can perform
" towards God, he ought therefore by no
" means to decline and refuſe Empire and
" Rule, which was the true ſphere and ſta-
" tion of wiſe and renowned men; and in
" which they had ſuch an aſcendant over
" mankind, as to influence their Souls with
" affections to Virtue, and to a Religious
" Worſhip of the Gods, in a moſt ſo-
" lemn and pompous manner: it being na-
" tural to men to faſhion and conform
" themſelves by the example and actions
" of their Prince. *Tatius*, tho a Foreig-
" ner, was yet acceptable and in eſteem
" of the *Romans*; and the memory of *Ro-
" mulus* was ſo precious to them, that after
" his deceaſe, they voted Divine Honours
" to be paid to him: And now who knows,
" but that this People being victorious,

" may be ſatiated with the War, and with
" the Trophies and Spoils they have ac-
" quired; and may gladly entertain a gen-
" tle and pacifick Prince, who being a lo-
" ver of Juſtice may reduce the City into
" a model and courſe of Laws and judi-
" cial Proceedings? And in caſe at any
" time the affections of this people ſhould
" break forth into a furious and impetuous
" deſire of War; were it not better then
" to have the reins held by ſuch a mode-
" rating Hand, as is able to divert the fury
" another way, and ſpend it ſelf on Fo-
" reigners? by which means thoſe malig-
" nant humours which are the cauſes of ci-
" vil diſcord, will perſpire and evaporate,
" and all the *Sabins*, and neighbouring
" people, be reconciled and joined in an
" inſeparable union and alliance with the
" City.

To theſe reaſons and perſuaſions ſeveral other auſpicious Omens (as is reported) did concur: and when his own Citizens underſtood what Meſſage the *Roman* Ambaſſadors had brought him, they all addreſſed themſelves to him, inſtantly intreating him to accept the offer; being aſſured that it was the only means to appeaſe all civil diſſenſions, and incorporate both People into one Body.

Numa yielding to theſe perſuaſions and reaſons, having firſt performed Divine Service,

vice, proceeded to *Rome*; being met in his way by the Senate and People, who with an impatent deſire came forth to receive him. The Women alſo welcom'd him with joyful Acclamations, and Sacrifices were offered for him in all the Temples; and ſo univerſal was the Joy, that they ſeem'd not to receive a King, but the Addition of a new Kingdom. In this manner he deſcended into the *Forum*, where *Spurius Vetius*, whoſe turn it was to be Governor at that Hour, putting it to the Vote, Whether *Numa* ſhould be King; they all with one Voice and Conſent cried out, A *Numa*, A *Numa*. Then were the Regalities and Robes of Authority brought to him, but he refuſed to be inveſted with them, until he had firſt conſulted and been confirmed by the Gods; ſo being accompanied by the Prieſts and * *Augurs*, he aſcended the Capitol, which at that time the *Romans* called the *Tarpeian* Rock. Then the chief of the *Augurs* covered his Head, and turned his Face towards the South; and, ſtanding behind him, laid his Right-hand on the Head of *Numa*, and prayed, caſting his Eyes every way, in expectation of ſome auſpicious Signal from the Gods. It is wonderful to conſider with what Silence and Devotion the multitude, which was aſſembled in the Market-place, expected a happy event, which was ſoon determined by the appear-

His religious Policy.

* *Southſayers.*

ance

ance and flight of ſuch Birds as were accounted fortunate. Then *Numa*, apparelling himſelf in his Royal Robes, deſcended from the Hill unto the People, by whom he was received, and congratulated with Shouts and Acclamations, and eſteem'd by all for a Holy and Devout Prince.

The firſt alterations he made, what.

The firſt thing he did at his entrance into Government was to diſmiſs the Band of three hundred Men, which had been *Romulus*'s Life-guard, called by them *Celeres*; for that the maintenance of ſuch a Force would argue a diffidence of them that choſe him; ſaying, that he would not rule over that People of whom he conceived the leaſt diſtruſt. The next thing he did, was to add to the two Prieſts of *Jupiter* and *Mars*, a third in Honour of *Romulus* who was called *Quirinalis*. The *Romans* antiently called their Prieſts *Flamines*, by corruption of the Word *Pilamines*, from a certain Cap which they wore called *Pileus*; for in thoſe times *Greek* Words were more mixed with the *Latin*, than in this Age: So alſo that Royal Robe, which is called *Lænas*, *Juba* will have it from the *Greek Chlenas*; and that the Name of *Camillus*, which is given to the Boy that ſerves in the Temple of *Jupiter*, was taken from the ſame which is given to *Mercury*, denoting his ſervice and attendance on the Gods.

When

When *Numa* had by theſe Actions inſinuated himſelf into the favour and affection of the People, he began to diſpoſe the humour of the City, which as yet was obdurate and rendred hard as Iron by War, to become more gentle and pliable by the Applications of Humanity and Juſtice. It was then, if ever, the critical Motion of the City, and, as *Plato* properly ſtiles it, the Time when it was in its higheſt Fermentation. For this City in its Original was the Receptacle of all bold and daring Spirits, where Men of deſperate Fortunes, joining their hopes and force together, made frequent Sallies and Incurſions on their Neighbours; the which, being proſperous, gave nouriſhment and increaſe to the City, then grown wreſty and ſettled in its fierceneſs, as Piles droven into the Ground become more fixed and ſtable by the impulſe and blows which the Rammer lays upon them. Wherefore *Numa*, judging that it was the Maſter-piece of his Art to mollify and bend the ſtubborn and inflexible Spirits of this People, began to operate and practiſe upon them with the Principles of Religion. He ſacrificed often, and uſed Supplications and Religious Dances, in which moſt commonly he officiated in Perſon, being ever attended with a grrave and religious Company; and then at other times he diverted their Minds with Plea-

Rome a Harbour for looſe Perſons.

An awful ſenſe of Religion, the chief Expedient to reduce obdurate Spirits.

ſures

ſures and delightful Exerciſes, which he ever intermixed with their Devotions, ſo as to cool their fiery martial Spirits; and then to affect their Fancies with a fear and reverence of God, he made them believe that ſtrange Apparitions and Viſions were ſeen, and prophetick Voices heard, and all to ſeaſon and poſſeſs their Minds with a ſenſe of Religion.

Numa *why thought familiar with* Pythagoras.

This method which *Numa* uſed, made it believ'd that he was much converſant with *Pythagoras*, and that he drew and copied his Learning and Wiſdom from him: For that in his Inſtitutions of a Commonwealth, he lays down Religion for the firſt Foundation and Ground of it. It is ſaid alſo that he affected the exterior Garb and Geſtures of *Pythagoras*, and to perſonate him in all his motions. For as it is ſaid of *Pythagoras*, that he had taught an Eagle to come at his lure, and ſtoop at his call, and that as he paſſed over the Heads of the People, aſſembled at the *Olympick* Games, he made him ſhew his Golden Thigh, with many other rare Arts and Feats, which appeared miraculous; on which *Timon Philaſius* wrote this diſtich,

Pythagoras, *that he might common Fame acquire,*
Did with his Golden Verſe Mens Minds inſpire:

In

In like manner *Numa* affected the Story of a Mountain Nymph to be in love with him, and that he entertain'd familiar Converſation with the Muſes, from whom he received the greateſt part of his Revelations; and having amongſt them a particular Devotion for the Lady which he named *Tacita*, he recommended the Veneration of her to the *Romans*, which he did perhaps in imitation of the *Pythagorean* Silence. His Opinion alſo of Images is very agreeable to the Doctrine of *Pythagoras*: who taught, that the Firſt Principle of Being, which is not capable to be affected with ſenſual Paſſions, is inviſible, and incorrupt, and only to be comprehended by abſtracted Speculations of the Mind. And for this reaſon he forbad the *Romans* to repreſent God in the form of Man or Beaſt; nor was there any painted or graven Image of a Deity admitted amongſt them for the ſpace of the firſt hundred and ſixty Years; all which time their Temples and Chappels were free and pure from Idols and Images, which ſeem'd too mean and beggarly Repreſentations of God, to whom no acceſs was allowable but by the Mind raiſed and elevated by Divine Contemplation. His Sacrifices alſo had great ſimilitude with the Victims of *Pythagoras*, which were not celebrated with effuſion of Blood, but conſiſted of the Flower of Wheat or Wine, and ſuch ſort of blended

No Imagery in the Religious Worſhip amongſt the Romans *for the firſt* 160 *Years.*

ded Offerings. And to make appear the Inclination that *Numa* had to *Pythagoras* by other Inſtances, there is a certain Dramatick Poet, a very antient Author, and a Scholar of *Pythagoras*, who, in a certain Book of his dedicated to *Antenor*, reports, that *Pythagoras* was made a Free-man of *Rome*; and that *Numa* gave to one of his four Sons the Name of *Mamercus*, which was the Name of one of the Sons of *Pythagoras*; from whence, as they ſay, is ſprung that antient *Patrician* Family of the *Æmilians*, for that the King ſuperadded the Sirname to him of *Æmilius*, to denote the ſoftneſs of his Words, and the fluency of his Speech. I remember that when I was at *Rome*, I heard many ſay, that when the Oracle directed two Statues to be raiſed, one to the Wiſeſt, and another to the moſt Valiant Man of *Greece*, they preſently erected two of Braſs, one repreſenting *Alcibiades*, and the other *Pythagoras*.

But, to paſs by theſe matters, which are full of uncertainty, and not ſo important, as to be worth our time to inſiſt long on; we ſhall proceed to things more pertinent, and ſhew, that the Original Conſtitution of Prieſts, who are called *Pontifices*, is aſcribed unto *Numa*; and that he himſelf, officiating in the firſt and primary Order, took upon himſelf the Name of *Pontifex*, or High Prieſt; aſſuming the Title of *Potens*, or

Numa *firſt conſtituted the* Pontifices.

or Powerful: as if thoſe, whoſe Office obliged them to an attendance on the Gods, were endued with a ſuper-eminent Power and Arbitrement above all others. Some will have this Name to be given by way of ſuper-excellence, as to a ſole Moderator, in whoſe Power it is to ordain and appoint the times when Sacrifices and Divine Services are to be performed. But the moſt common Opinion is the moſt abſurd, which derives this Word from the *Latin Pons*, which ſignifies a Bridg, ſaying, That antiently the moſt ſolemn and holy Sacrifices were offered on Bridges; the care of which, both in maintaining and repairing, was the chief incumbence of the Prieſts: and that it was not only eſteemed by the *Romans* to be unlawful, but an abominable Impiety to demoliſh or diſorder the Planks or Fabrick of a Bridg; becauſe that by appointment of the Oracle, it was to be only of Timber, and faſtned with Wooden Pins, without Nails or Cramps of Iron; and that the Stone-Bridg was built many Years after, when *Emylius* was Queſtor; and that the old Bridg of Wood was demoliſhed in the Reign of *Ancus Martius*, who was the Grandſon of *Numa* by his Daughter.

The Office of *Pontifex*, or Chief Prieſt, was to interpret the Divine Law and Prophecies; *The Pontifical Office, what.*

phecies; and did not only preſcribe Rules for publick Ceremony, but regulated the Sacrifices of private Perſons, not ſuffering them in the heat of their Devotion to exceed the more ſolemn Offerings, but directed in every thing with what Sacrifices the Gods were to be worſhipped and appeaſed.

The Inſtitution of the Veſtals. He was alſo Guardian of the Veſtal Virgins, the Inſtitution of whom and of their perpetual Fire, was attributed to *Numa*, who perhaps fancied the Nature of pure and uncorrupted Flames to be agreeable to chaſt and unpolluted Bodies; or that Fire which conſumes but produces nothing, alludes beſt to the ſterile Condition of Virgins. This Veſtal Fire was ordained after the Example of that in *Greece*, and particularly at *Delphos* and *Athens*; only with this difference, that here it was conſerved by Virgins, but there by Widows, who were paſt the Years and Deſires of Marriage. And incaſe by any accident it ſhould happen, that this Fire became extinct, as the Holy Lamp was at *Athens*, under the Tyranny of *Ariſtion*; and at *Delphos*, when that Temple was burnt by the *Medes*; and at *Rome*, in the time of the War with *Mithridates*; and of their own civil Diſſenſions, when not only the Fire was extinguiſhed, but the Altar demoliſh'd; and then afterwards to kindle this Fire again, it was eſteemed an Impiety to light it from

the common Sparks or Flame, but from the pure and unpolluted Rays of the Sun; the which they performed by an Inſtrument framed of three equal Angles, which being placed in oppoſition to the Sun, collects the Rays into one centre, and ſo attenuates the Air, that immediately gives Fire to any combuſtible Matter from the intenſe reflexion and reverberation of the Sun-beams. Some are of Opinion that theſe Veſtals had no other Care or Buſineſs than the Conſervation of this Fire; but others conceive, that they were Keepers of thoſe Divine Secrets which are concealed and hidden to all others but themſelves; of which we have made mention in the Life of *Camillus*, ſo far as the Revelations of ſuch Myſteries are conſiſtent with due reſpect to Religion. *Gegania* and *Verenia*, as is reported, were the Names of the two firſt Virgins which were conſecrated and ordained by *Numa*: next *Canuleia* and *Tarpeia* ſucceeded them; to which *Servius* afterwards added two more, the which number of four hath continued to this our Age.

The Laws appointed for the Veſtal Virgins.

The Statutes preſcribed by *Numa* for the Veſtals were theſe, That they ſhould vow to keep a Leaſe of their Virginity, or remain in a chaſt and unſpotted Condition, for the ſpace of thirty Years; the firſt ten whereof they were like Novitiates, obliged to learn the Ceremonies, and practiſe themſelves

ſelves in the Rules of their Religion; then they took the degree of Prieſteſs, and for other ten Years exerciſed the Sacerdotal Function; and the remaining ten they employed in teaching and inſtructing others. Thus the whole term being compleated, it was lawful for them to marry; and leaving then the ſacred Order, they were at liberty to chuſe ſuch a Condition of Life as did moſt indulge, and was grateful to their own Humour. But this permiſſion few (as they ſay) made uſe of; becauſe it was obſerv'd, that their change of Life was never accompanied with Contentment, being ever after ſad and melancholy: for which reaſon they confined themſelves until Old Age, and the Hour of Death, to the ſtrict and decent Rules of a ſingle Life.

Their Privileges. But this ſevere Condition was recompenſed by other Privileges and Prerogatives; as that they had Power to make a Teſtament in the Life-time of their Father; that they had a free Adminiſtration of their own Affairs without Guardian or Tutor, which was the privilege of Women who were the Mothers of three Children: When they went abroad, they had the *Faſces* carried before them; and if perchance in their Walks abroad it were their fortune to meet a Malefactor leading to Execution, they had the privilege to free him from Death, upon Oath made, that the occaſion

caſion was accidental, and not deſigned, or offſet purpoſe. Whoſoever preſſed upon the Chair on which they were carried, was guilty of a Capital Crime, and immediately puniſhed with Death. If theſe Veſtals committed any Faults, they were puniſhable by the High-Prieſt only, who, as the Nature of the Offence required, whipped them naked in a dark place, and under the Caution of a Veil or Curtain; but ſhe that had been defiled, or permitted her ſelf to be defloured, was buried Alive near the Gate which is called *Collina*; where a little Mount of Earth is raiſed, called in Latin *Agger*; under it is a narrow Room, to which a deſcent is made by Stairs: Here they prepare a Bed, and light up a Lamp, and provide a ſmall quantity of Victuals, ſuch as Bread, Water in a Bottel, Milk and Oil; that ſo that Body, which had been conſecrated and devoted to the moſt Divine and Myſterious Service, might not be ſaid to periſh by a Death ſo deteſtable as that of Famine. The Party thus condemned, is carried to Execution through the Market-place in a Litter, wherein ſhe is covered and bound with Cords, ſo that the Voice of her Cries and Laments cannot be heard; all People with ſilence go out of the way as ſhe paſſes, and ſuch as follow, accompany the Bier with ſolemn and tacit Sorrow: and indeed ſuch is the ſadneſs which the City

puts on this occaſion, that there is no ſpectacle of Grief which appears of more common and general concernment than this. When they come to the place of Execution, the Officers looſe the Cords; and then the High Prieſt, lifting his Hands to Heaven, murmurs ſome certain Prayers to himſelf; then the Priſoner, being ſtill covered, is brought forth, and led down by the Steps unto her Houſe of darkneſs: which being done, the Prieſt retires, and the Stairs being drawn up, the Earth is preſſed and crouded in until the Vault is filled. And this was the Puniſhment of thoſe who broke their Vow of Virginity. It is ſaid alſo that *Numa* built the Temple of *Veſta*, which was intended for a Conſervatory of the Holy Fire, in an Orbicular form, to repreſent perhaps the Frame of the Univerſe, in the Center of which the *Pythagoreans* place the Element of Fire, and give it the Name of *Veſta* and Unity: And yet they do not hold that the Earth is immovable, or that it is ſituated in the middle Region of the Globe; but keeps a circular motion about the ſeat of Fire. Nor do they account the Earth among the chief or primary Elements; following the Opinion of *Plato*, who, they ſay, in his mature and Philoſophical Age, held that the Earth had a lateral poſition, for that the middle or center was reſerved for ſome more noble and refined Body.

There

There was yet a farther uſe of the High Prieſt, and that was to order the Proceſſion at Funeral Rites, according to the method preſcribed by *Numa*, who taught, that there was no Uncleanneſs in the Contact of dead Corps, but a part of the Service owing to the Subterranean Gods: Amongſt which they worſhipped the Goddeſs *Libitina* as the chief of thoſe who preſided over the Ceremonies performed at Burials; whether they meant hereby *Perſephone*, or (as ſome of the learned *Romans* will have it) *Venus:* for they, not without good reaſon, attributed the beginning and end of Man's Life to the ſame Original Cauſe and Virtue of a Deity.

The regulation of Funeral Rites and Ceremonies.

Numa alſo preſcribed Rules for regulating the Days of Mourning, according to certain Times and Ages. As for example, a Child of three Years, and ſo upwards to ten, was to be mourned for, for ſo many Months as it was Years old; and the longeſt time of Mourning for any Perſon whatſoever was not to exceed the term of ten Months; which alſo was the time appointed unto Widows to lament the loſs of their deceaſed Husbands: Before which they could not without great Indecency paſs unto ſecond Marriages; but in caſe their Incontinence was ſuch as could not admit ſo long an Abſtinence from the Marriage-

Bed, they were then to ſacrifice a Cow with Calf for Expiation of their Fault.

Numa alſo was Founder of ſeveral other Orders of Prieſts; two of which are worthy to be here mentioned, namely, the *Salii* and the *Feciales*, which, with other Inſtances, are clear Proofs of the great Devotion and Sanctity of this Perſon. Theſe *Feciales*, whoſe Name in my Opinion is derived from their Office, were the Arbitrators to whom all Controverſies were referred relating to War and Peace; for it was not allowable to take up Arms until they had declared all Hopes and Expedients rejected which tended to an Accommodation: By the word Peace, we mean a Determination of Matters in diſpute by Law, and not by Violence or Force. The *Romans* commonly diſpatched the *Feciales*, who were properly Heralds, to thoſe who had offered them Injury, requiring Satisfaction; and in caſe they made not Reſtitution or juſt Returns, they then called the Gods to witneſs againſt them and their Country, and ſo denounced War: the Senſe of the *Feciales* in this caſe was of abſolute neceſſity, for without their Conſent it was neither lawful for the *Roman* King, nor yet for the People to take up Arms; and from them the General took his Rules concerning the Juſtice of his Cauſe, which being adjudged, and the War determined, the

Feciales, *an Order of Prieſts, whence ſo ſtiled.*

next

next buſineſs was to deliberate of the manner and ways to manage and carry it on. It is believ'd, that the Slaughter and Deſtruction which the *Gauls* made of the *Romans*, was a juſt Judgment on the City for neglect of this religious Proceeding: For that when a Foreign Nation beſieged the *Cluſinians*, *Fabius Ambuſtus* was diſpatched to their Camp with Propoſitions of Peace; but they returning a rude and preremptory Anſwer thereunto, *Fabius* imagined that his Treaty was at an end, and that he had fully complied with the duty of his Embaſſy; and therefore raſhly ingaging in a War, challenged the ſtouteſt and braveſt of the Enemy to a ſingle Combat. It was the fortune of *Fabius* to kill his Adverſary, and to take his Spoils; which when the *Gauls* underſtood, they ſent a Herald to *Rome* to complain againſt *Fabius*, who, before a War was publiſhed, had, againſt the Law of Nations, made a breach of the Peace. The matter being debated in the Senate, the *Feciales* were of Opinion, that *Fabius* ought to be conſigned into the Hands of the *Gauls*: but he, being pre-adviſed of this Judgment, fled to the People, by whoſe Protection and Favour he was ſecured: on this occaſion, the *Gauls* marched with their Army to *Rome*, where, having taken the Capitol, they ſacked the City. The particulars of all which are

at large related in the Hiſtory of *Camillus*.

Now the Original of the *Salii* is this: In the eighth Year of the Reign of *Numa*, that terrible Peſtilence, which was ſpread over all *Italy*, did likewiſe miſerably infeſt the City of *Rome*: at which the Citizens being greatly affrighted, and deſpairing of Health, were again comforted by the report of a brazen Target, which (they ſay) fell from Heaven into the Hands of *Numa*, and of which they relate ſtrange Effects, operated by the Virtue of this miraculous Buckler; and that *Numa* having had Conference with the Nymph *Egeria*, and ſome of the Muſes, he was aſſured, That that Target was ſent from Heaven for the cure and ſafety of the City; and that, becauſe on the Conſervation thereof the common Health and Benefit depended, he was ordered by them to make eleven others, ſo like in all dimenſions and form to the Original, that in caſe there ſhould be a deſign to ſteal it away, the true might not be diſtinguiſhed or known from thoſe which were counterfeited; by which means there would be more difficulty to defeat the Counſels of Fate, or invert the Order of Divine Predeſtination. He farther declared that he was commanded to conſecrate that Place and the Fields about it to the Muſes, where he had often entertained

a free intercourſe and communication with them; and that the Fountain which watered that Field ſhould be made ſacred and hallowed for the uſe of the Veſtal Virgins, who were to waſh and cleanſe the Penetralia of their Sanctuary with thoſe Holy Waters. The truth hereof was ſpeedily verified by a miraculous ceſſation of the Peſtilence; whereupon *Numa* immediately delivered this Target to the beſt Artiſts, to have others made in a juſt likeneſs in all particulars thereunto; but none was able to arrive unto a perfect ſimilitude in all undiſtinguiſhable reſpects, until at length one *Veturius Mamurius*, an excellent Maſter, happily hit upon it, and made one ſo to repreſent the other in all reſpects, that *Numa* himſelf was at a ſtand, and could not diſtinguiſh the true from that which was counterfeited. The keeping of which Targets was committed to the care of certain Prieſts who are called *Salii*; who did not receive their name, as ſome imagine, from one *Salius*, a certain Dancing-maſter, who was born at *Samothrace*, or at *Mantinea*, who taught the way of dancing in Arms; but rather from that Dance which the *Salii* themſelves uſe, when in the Month of *March* they carry the ſacred Targets through the City: at which Proceſſion they are habited in a ſhort Caſſock, girt with a broad Belt claſp'd with braſs

The Inſtitution and Office of the Salii.

braſs Buckles; on their heads they wore a Copper Helmet, and ever and anon ſounded on the Targets with ſhort Scimiters: in this manner they proceeded with a nimble motion, and juſt meaſures of their Feet, and with ſuch handſom and various turns, as demonſtrated great ſtrength and agility of Body. Theſe Targets were called *Ancylia* from the faſhion of them; for they were not made in a round or orbicular form, but oval, and with certain folds or pleats cloſing one over the other: they fitted the Elbow by their cubical Figure, and thence were called *Ancylia*, from ἀγκύλη, which ſignified a crooked ſhape, or from the cubit, which is from the Wriſt to the Elbow, and called in *Greek* ἀγκὼν, on which they carry theſe *Ancylia*. *Juba*, who much affected the *Greek* Tongue, draws many of his derivations from thence, and would have it from ἀνέκαθεν φορᾶς, which ſignifies as much as ſent from above, or from ἄκεσις, which is cure or medicine of Diſeaſes, or from αὐχμῶν λύσις, which is a deliverance from great drineſs, or from ἀνάσχεσις, which is an eſcape from great evils; whence it is that the *Athenians* called *Caſtor* and *Pollux* Ἄνακας: all which may ſerve to employ the curioſity of thoſe who have a fancy to *Greek* derivations. All the Reward which *Mamurius* received for this his Art, was to be mentioned and commemorated

memorated in the Verſes which the *Salii* ſang as they danced in their Arms through the City; tho ſome will have it that they did not ſay *Veturius Mamurius*, but *Vetus memoria*, which is Antient Remembrance.

A memorable inſtance of Devotion in Numa *his building a Place adjoining to* Veſta's *Temple.*

After *Numa* had in this manner inſtituted theſe ſeveral Orders of Prieſts, he erected a Royal Palace near the Temple of *Veſta*, called to this day *Regium*; where he ſpent the moſt part of his time, in preſcribing Rules for Divine Service, inſtructing the Prieſts, and with zeal and devotion attending in Perſon on the Offices of Religion. He built another Houſe upon the Mount *Quirinalis*; which place they ſhew to this Day. In all publick Proceſſions and ſolemn Prayers, Tipſtaves or Uſhers were ſent before to give notice to the People that they ſhould forbear their work, and attend the Divine Solemnity; for they ſay that the *Pythagoreans* did not hold it ſufficient Reverence towards the Gods, to worſhip them in a negligent manner, as when the religious Proceſſions did obviouſly occur, but obliged their Scholars to go out from their Houſes, and with prepared Hearts attend to Divine Supplications: So *Numa* in like manner decreed, that his Citizens ſhould neither ſee nor hear Divine matters in a perfunctory manner, and with wandring thoughts, but laying

Indifference and Diſtraction of buſineſs great hindrance to Devotion.

laying aſide all diſtractions of mind, and cares of the World, ſhould apply and elevate their Meditations to Religion; and the ways and ſtreets ſhould be clear of noiſe or laments, or other incumbrances which might obſtruct or diſturb the ſolemnity and ſeriouſneſs of Devotion. Something of this Cuſtom remains at *Rome* to this day; for when the Conſul begins to ſacrifice or officiate, they call out to the People, *Hoc age*, or *attend to the work in hand*, and is as much as with us, *Let us Pray*; whereby the Auditors then preſent were admoniſhed to compoſe and recollect their thoughts for Prayer. And as *Pythagoras* had certain Precepts and Sayings, ſuch as theſe; *Thou ſhalt not make a Peck-Meaſure thy ſeat to ſit on: Thou ſhalt not ſtir the Fire with a Sword: When thou goeſt forwards, look not behind thee: When thou ſacrificeſt to the Celeſtial Gods, let it be with an odd number; and when to the Terreſtrial, let it be with even.* So likewiſe *Numa* delivered other Sentences of an obſcure and abſtruſe meaning; ſuch as theſe: *Thou ſhalt not ſacrifice to the Gods an Offering of Wine proceeding from a Vine which was never pruned. No Sacrifices ſhall be performed without Meal. Uſe a circular motion in adoration of the Gods, and ſit down when you have worſhipped.* The two firſt Precepts ſeem to denote, that Urbanity and a natural Complaiſance with the

the World is a part of Religion; and as to the turning which the Worſhippers are to uſe in divine Adoration, it is to repreſent the orbicular motion of the World. But in my opinion, the meaning rather is, that he who comes to worſhip, enters the Temple with his face towards the Eaſt; where, being come up as high as the Chancel, he turns towards the Weſt, and then back again to the Eaſt, perfecting the whole office of his Prayers to that God who is Maker of the Univerſe: unleſs perhaps this change of Poſture may allude to the *Ægyptian* Wheels, which were Hieroglyphicks of the inſtability of human Fortune; and that where God ſhould fix and eſtabliſh our lot and condition, we ſhould there reſt contented, and repoſe our ſelves with entire reſignation to the Divine pleaſure. They ſay alſo, that the ſitting quiet and in a repoſed poſture after Worſhip, did denote a conceſſion, or grant of the Petitions they made, and was an aſſurance of everlaſting felicity in the future life; and that this ſtill and ſedentary ceſſation from work was the full ſtop or period of buſineſs already performed: from whence now deſigning to begin others, they were to preſent themſelves before the Gods, to obtain their bleſſings, and ſucceſs on that which was to follow. And this form of Ceremony did very well ſute with the preceding Doctrine, which taught

Probable conjectures of the ſignificancy of the ſeveral Poſtures in Divine Worſhip.

taught that Men ought not to approach the Gods in a tranſitory way, and with diſtracted minds; but, laying aſide all worldly cares and wandring fancies, ſhould then only pray when their thoughts are poſſeſſed with Divine Meditation. By ſuch Diſcipline as this, recommended by the conſtant practice and example of the Legiſlator, the City did ſo inſenſibly paſs into a religious temper and frame of Devotion, and ſtood in that awe and reverence of the Virtue of *Numa*, that they received and believed with an undoubted aſſurance, whatſoever he delivered, tho never ſo fabulous; his Authority being ſufficient to make the greateſt abſurdities and impoſſibilities paſs for matters and points of Faith.

Several fabulous relations of Numa's *intimate familiarity with the Gods.*

There goes a ſtory, That he once invited a great number of Citizens to an Entertainment, at which the Diſhes in which the Meat was ſerved were very homely and plain, and the Commons ſhort, and the Meat ill dreſſed. The Gueſts being ſat, he began to tell them, that the Goddeſs which was his familiar Spirit, and always converſant with him, was then at that time preſent, when on a ſudden the Room was furniſhed with all ſorts of precious Pots and Diſhes, and the mean Fare converted into a moſt magnificent Feaſt, adorned with all ſorts of the moſt delicious

Viands.

Viands. But the Dialogue which is reported to have paſſed between him and *Jupiter*, ſurpaſſes all the fabulous Legends that were ever invented. They ſay, that before Mount *Aventine* was inhabited or incloſed within the Walls of the City, two Demi-gods, which were *Picus* and *Faunus*, did uſually frequent the Fountains and cloſe Shades of that place; which ſome will have to be two Satyrs of the *Titanian* Race; who being expert in the faculty of Phyſick, and dexterous in Legerdemain and magical Spells, like the *Dactyli* of Mount *Ida*, made a Journey through all the parts of *Italy*. *Numa* contriving one day to ſurprize theſe Demi-gods, mingled the Waters of the Fountain, of which they did uſually drink, with Wine and Honey, which ſo pleaſed theſe liquoriſh Deities, that he eaſily enſnared and took them: but then they changed themſelves into many various forms and ſhapes, intending, under horrid and unknown tranſmutations, to make their eſcape; but, finding themſelves entrapped in inextricable toils, and in no poſſibility to get free, revealed unto him many ſecrets and future events; and particularly a charm againſt Thunder and Lightning, which they compoſed of Onions and Hair, and the Bones of a Fiſh: but ſome deny, and ſay, that theſe Demi-gods did not diſcover the ſecret of this Charm

to

to *Numa*; but that they, by the force of their Magick Art and Spells, had conſtrained *Jove* himſelf to deſcend from Heaven to ſatisfy the demands of *Numa*; and that he then, in an angry manner anſwering his enquiries, told him, That if he would charm the Thunder and Lightning, he muſt do it with Heads. How, ſaid *Numa*, with the Heads of Onions? No, reply'd *Jupiter*, of Men. But *Numa*, willing to divert the cruelty of this Receipt, turned it another way, ſaying, Your meaning is, the Hairs of Mens Heads: No, reply'd *Jupiter*, of living Men. Then *Numa*, being inſtructed by the Goddeſs *Egeria*, ſeemed to miſtake, and ſay, How! with the Bones of the Fiſh *Mæna*? which, being the three ingredients that compoſe the Charm, ſo operated on *Jupiter*, that he returned again to Heaven pacified and well pleaſed. This place was ever afterwards called *Elicium*, or *Ilicium*, from the *Greek* word ἵλεως, which ſignifies propitious or merciful; and in this manner this Magick Spell was effected.

The People of Rome *generally inclin'd to ſuperſtition in* Numa's *reign.*

Such was the ſuperſtitious humour of that Age, which the example of the Prince had wrought in the minds of the Vulgar, that nothing was ſo abſurd and ridiculous in Religion which gain'd not belief; and *Numa* himſelf was ſaid to have been poſſeſſed with ſuch a confidence and fiducial truſt in the Gods, that when it was told him, that

that the Enemy was near at hand, he ſmilingly anſwer'd, *That he feared them not, let them come at their peril, for he was then ſacrificing to the Gods.* It was he alſo that built the Temples of *Faith*, and *Terminus*; and taught the *Romans* ſuch reſpect to Faith, that it was the greateſt Oath, and the moſt obligatory that they could ſwear; and to the God *Terminus* they offer unto this day the Blood of Beaſts, both in publick and private Sacrifices, upon the Borders and Stone-marks of their Land: tho antiently thoſe Sacrifices were ſolemnized without Blood, it being the Precept and Doctrine of *Numa* to offer nothing to the God *Terminus*, but what was pure and free of bloody Cruelty; for that he, whoſe Incumbence it was to fix Boundaries, was thereby conſtituted an Arbiter of Peace and Juſtice, puniſhing thoſe who removed their Neighbour's Land-mark, or invaded his Right. It is very clear, that it was this King who firſt preſcribed Bounds to the Juriſdiction of *Rome*; for *Romulus* would have betrayed his own Cauſe, and plainly diſcovered how much he had encroached on his Neighbours Lands, had he ever ſet Limits to his own; which as they are Fences and Curbs againſt arbitrary Invaſions, to thoſe who obſerve them, ſo they ſerve for Evidences to ariſe in Judgment againſt thoſe, who break over and

violate the borders with which they are circumſcribed. The truth is, the Portion of Lands which the *Romans* poſſeſſed at the beginning was very narrow, until *Romulus* by War enlarged them; and which *Numa* afterwards divided amongſt the indigent Commonalty, that he might ward them againſt violent neceſſity, which always puts Men upon injurious Deſigns and Shifts; and that by placing them in Farms, he might accuſtom them to a deſire of Property, and a regular way of living: for as there is nothing that ſo reconciles the Minds of Men to Peace, as Husbandry and a Country Life, ſo it makes them abhor all Violence, and gives them Courage and Reſolution to defend their ſowed Lands and Paſtures from the Encroachment of their Neighbours. Wherefore *Numa*, that he might take and amuſe the Hearts of his Citizens with Agriculture or Husbandry, which is an Employment that rather begets Civility and a peaceable Temper than great Opulency and Riches, he divided all the Lands into ſeveral parcels, to which he gave the name of *Pagus* or Borough, and over every one of them he ordained a Chief or Arbitrator in Judicial Cauſes. And taking a Delight ſometimes to ſurvey his Colonies in Perſon, he made Judgment of every Man's Inclinations and Manners, by his Induſtry, and the Improvements he had made,

Numa a Friend and Advancer of Husbandry.

made, of which being witneſs himſelf, he prefer'd thoſe to Honours and Authority who had merited moſt; and on the contrary reproached the ſluggiſhneſs of ſuch, who had given themſelves over to a careleſs and a negligent Life. But above all, which was a principal Point of his Politicks, he divided the People into ſeveral Companies: For as the City did conſiſt, or rather was diſtinguiſh'd (as we have ſaid) by two ſorts of Tribes, from whence dangerous Factions, Tumults and Seditions did ariſe; he contrived to caſt them into divers ſmall Moulds and Models: For as hard and diſſenting Bodies are not eaſily incorporated, ſo long as they remain in their groſs bulk, but being beaten into a Powder, or melted into ſmall Atoms, are often cemented and conſolidated into one; ſo this People, being ſeparated and diſtinguiſhed into ſmall Diviſions, were afterwards with leſs difficulty united into one Body. Wherefore diſtinguiſhing the whole City by their ſeveral Arts and Profeſſions, he formed the Companies of Muſicians, Goldſmiths, Maſons, Dyers, Taylors, Skinners, Braſiers, and Potters; and all other Handy-crafts Men he compoſed and reduced into a ſingle Company, appointing unto every one their reſpective Halls, Courts and other Privileges belonging to their Societies, which they held by the Charters received from

He firſt divided the Citizens into diſtinct Companies.

this Prince. In this manner all factious distinctions began to ceaſe in the City; there being no Perſon farther eſteemed under the notion of a *Sabin*, a *Roman*, or a *Tatian*, but all were comprehended under the general Denomination of a Citizen of *Romulus*; whereby all other terms growing out of Uſe and Faſhion, the National Animoſities reconciled of themſelves, and all diſſolved into the common Tie and Relation of a *Roman* Citizen.

He is alſo much to be commended for the Repeal, or rather Amendment of that Law, which gives power to Fathers to ſell their Children; for he exempted ſuch as were married from that Subjection, conditionally that they had match'd themſelves with the liking and conſent of their Parents: for it ſeemed very hard and unjuſt, that a Woman, who had given her ſelf in Marriage to a Man whom ſhe judged free, ſhould afterwards find her ſelf betrayed and caſt away upon a Husband that was a Servant.

The regulation of the Year inſtituted by Numa.

He attempted alſo to draw a Scheme of the Heavens, and thereunto conform a Kalendar and Ephemerides of the Year, which tho it was not perfect, yet it was not altogether without ſome learned Conjectures, and ſuch as reduced the account of the Year to ſome tolerable Regulation: For during the Reign of *Romulus*, their Months had no certain or equal Term; for ſome of them

them contained 20 Days, others 35, others more; which Error proceeded from want of a true knowledg of the different motions of the Sun and Moon: only they kept to this account, that the whole Courſe of the Year contained 360 Days. *Numa* alſo farther obſerving, that there was eleven days difference between the Lunary and the Solary Year; for that the Moon compleated her anniverſary Courſe in 354 Days, and the Sun in 365: to remedy this Inequality, he doubled the eleven Days, and after every two Years added an Interſtitial to follow the Month of *February*, which the *Romans* call'd the Month of *Mercidinus*: but this Account hath ſince that time received a better amendment. He alſo altered the order of the Months: for *March*, which was reckon'd the firſt, he put into the third place; and *January*, which was the eleventh, he made the firſt; and *February*, which was the twelfth and laſt, to be the ſecond. Some will have it, that it was *Numa* alſo who added the two Months of *January* and *February*: for in the beginning, when Men were ignorant and barbarous, they compoſed a Year of ten Months; the *Arcadians* in *Greece* had only four; in *Arcania* they accounted but ſix; and the *Ægyptians* had at firſt but one Month, which afterwards they divided into four, according to the Seaſons of

Various, abſurd and unskilful computations of the Year.

the Year. Which Country of *Ægypt*, tho it ſeem new to us, is yet inhabited by an antient People; for if we may believe their Chronicles (unleſs they account Months for Years) their Genealogies are deduced from great Antiquity: And that the *Romans* at firſt comprehended the whole Year within ten, and not twelve Months, plainly appears by the name of *December*, which ſignifies the tenth Month, and is the laſt in order; and that *March* was the firſt is likewiſe evident, for that the fifth Month after it was called *Quintilis*, and the ſixth *Sextilis*, and ſo the reſt: So that if *January* and *February* had in this account preceded *March*, *Quintilis* had been but in the ſeventh place, and ſo called *September*. It is alſo very probable, that this firſt Month was dedicated by *Romulus* to *Mars*; the ſecond to *Venus*, called *April*, from the Greek Word *Aphrodites*; which the Women ſolemnize in honour of that Goddeſs, adorning their Heads on the Kalends, or firſt Days of it, with Myrtle Garlands. But others will not allow of the Derivation of this Word from *Aphrodites*, but rather deduce it from the Word *Aperio*, which in Latin ſignifies to open, becauſe that this Month is in the high Spring, when all Buds and Flowers open and diſcloſe themſelves: The next is called *May*, from *Maia* the Mother of *Mercury*, to whom

whom this Month was made ſacred: then *June* follows, ſo call'd from *Juventus*, or Youthfulneſs of the Year, which is then warm, and gay, and in its juvenile Seaſon. To the other Months alſo they gave Denominations according to their order, ſo the fifth was call'd *Quintilis*, *Sextilis* the ſixth; and ſo the reſt, *September*, *October*, *November*, and *December*. Afterwards *Cæſar*, when he had overcome *Pompey*, changed the name of the Month *Quintilis* to that of *Julius*, which we call *July*; as alſo that of *Sextilis* was changed into *Auguſtus*, which was a ſirname to the Succeſſor of *Cæſar*. *Domitian* alſo in imitation hereof gave the two other following Months the Names of *Germanicus* and *Domitianus*; but, he being ſlain, they recovered their antient Denominations of *September* and *October*; but the two laſt have ever reſerved their Names without any alteration. The Months which were added, and tranſpoſed in their order by *Numa*, was *February*, which deduces its Name from *Februo*, ſignifying a Purification by Sacrifice; for then they offered Plants, and celebrated the Feaſt of *Lupercalia*, in which many Ceremonies agree with the Solemnities uſed at the Luſtrations or Cleanſing Days: and *January*, ſo call'd from *Janus*, and a precedency of order given to it by *Numa* before *March*, which was dedicated to the God *Mars*; intima-

ting in my opinion thereby, that the Arts and civil Studies of Peace are to be prefer'd before warlike or martial Imployments: For this *Janus*, whether he were a Dæmon, or Demi-God, or a King, was certainly a great Politician and Lover of Arts and Sciences, whereby he transformed the incult Natures of Men into a gentle and civil diſpoſition; for which reaſon they figure him with two Faces, beholding at the ſame time both States and Conſtitutions of Human kind. His Temple at *Rome* hath two Gates, which they call the Gates of *Mars*; becauſe they ſtand open in the time of War, and ſhut in the times of Peace, of which latter there was very ſeldom an Example: for when the *Roman* Empire was enlarged and extended to its utmoſt bounds, it was ſo encompaſſed with barbarous Nations and Enemies, that it was ſeldom or never at Peace. Only in the time of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, after he had overcome *Anthony*, that Temple was ſhut: As likewiſe not many Years before, when *Marcus Atilius* and *Titus Manlius* were Conſuls; but then it continued not ſo long, before that Wars breaking out, the Gates of *Janus* were again opened: But during the Reign of *Numa*, which continued for the ſpace of forty three Years, thoſe Gates were ever ſhut, there being a profound Quiet without the noiſe or clattering

The Gates of Janus's *Temple never open in* Numa's *Reign.*

tering of Arms: For not only the People of *Rome* were animated with a Spirit of Peace, which they enjoy'd under the juſt Proceedings of a pacifick Prince; but even the neighbouring Cities, as if they had been inſpired with the ſame Inclinations, breathed nothing but a ſalubrious and gentle Air of mutual Friendſhip, and amicable Correſpondence; and being raviſhed with the Delights which Juſtice and Peace produce, every one apply'd himſelf to the Management of his Lands and Farm, to the Education of his Children, and Worſhip of the Gods: Feſtival Days, and Sports, and Banquets were the common Divertiſements; and Families entertained and treated their Acquaintance and Friends in ſuch a free and open manner, that all *Italy* ſecurely converſed with each other without Fear, or Jealouſies, or Deſigns; being all poſſeſſed with that Divine Spirit of Love and Charity, which flowed from *Numa* as from a Fountain of Wiſdom and Equity. So that the Hyperboles which the Poets of thoſe Days uſed, and the Flights which are allowable in Verſe, were flat, and not able to reach with their higheſt Expreſſions the Happineſs of thoſe Days;

Happy Reſults of Peace.

When Spears, and Swords, and direful Arms of War

Were

Were laid aſide, and ruſtied in their places;
No Trumpet Sounds alarm'd the publick Peace,
But all ſecurely ſlept——

For during the whole Reign of *Numa*, there was neither War, nor Sedition, nor Plots deſigned againſt the State; nor did any Faction prevail, or the Ambition and Emulation of great Men attempt upon the Government: For indeed Men ſo reverenced his Virtue, and ſtood in ſuch awe of his Perſon, which, they believed, was guarded by a particular Care of Divine Providence, that they deſpair'd of all Succeſs in their ſiniſter Intentions. And then that happy Fortune, which always attends the Life of Men who are pure and innocent, beſtowed a general Eſteem and good Reputation on him; and verified that Saying of *Plato*, which ſome Ages after he delivered in relation to the Happineſs of a well form'd Commonwealth: For, ſays he, when the Royal Power, by God's Grace, meets with a Mind and Spirit addicted to Philoſophy, their Vice is ſubdued and made inferior to Virtue: No Man is really bleſſed but he that is wiſe; and happy are his Auditors, who can hear and receive thoſe Words which flow from his Mouth: There is no need of Compulſion

or

or Menaces to ſubject the multitude; for that Luſtre of Virtue which ſhines bright in the good Example of a Governor, invites and inclines them to Wiſdom, and inſenſibly leads them to an innocent and happy Life; which being conducted by Friendſhip and Concord, and ſupported on each ſide with Temperance and Juſtice, is of long and laſting Continuance: and worthy is that Prince of all Rule and Dominion, who makes it his buſineſs to lead his Subjects into ſuch a ſtate of Felicity. This was the Care of *Numa*, and to this end did all his Actions tend.

A virtuous Example moſt conſpicuous and inticing in a Prince.

As to his Children and Wives, there is a diverſity of Reports by ſeveral Authors: Some will have it that he never had any other Wife than *Tatia*, nor more Children than one Daughter called *Pompilia*. Others will have it that he left four Sons, namely, *Pompo*, *Pinus*, *Calpus* and *Mamercus*, every one of whom had Iſſue, and from them deſcended the Noble and Illuſtrious Families of *Pomponi*, *Pinari*, *Calpurni* and *Mamerci*, to which for diſtinction ſake was added the ſirname of Royal. But there is a third ſort of Writers, who ſay that theſe Pedigrees are but a piece of Flattery uſed by the Heralds, who, to incur Favour with theſe great Families, deduced their Genealogies from this antient Lineage; and that *Pompilia* was not the Daughter of *Tatia*,

Tatia, but born of *Lucretia*, to whom he was married after he came to his Kingdom: Howſoever all of them agree in Opinion, that ſhe was married to the Son of th t *Martius* who perſwaded him to accept the Government, and accompanied him to *Rome*, where, as a Signal of Honour, he was choſen into the Senate; and after the Death of *Numa*, ſtanding in competition with *Tullus Hoſtilius* for the Kingdom, and being diſappointed of the Election, in high Diſcontent kill'd himſelf. Howſoever his Son *Martius*, who had married *Pompilia*, reſiding at *Rome*, was the Father of *Ancus Martius*, who ſucceeded *Tullus Hoſtilius* in the Kingdom, and was but five Years of Age when *Numa* died.

Numa's *Death and honourable Interment.*

Numa lived ſomething above eighty Years, and then (as *Piſo* writes) was not taken out of the World by a ſudden or acute Diſeaſe, but by a chronical Diſtemper, by which he lingred long, and at laſt expired. At his Funerals all the Glories of his Life were conſummate; for the kind People, and his friendly Companions, met to honour and grace the Rites of his Interment with Garlands and Contributions from the Publick: the Senators carried the Bier on which his Corps was laid, and the Prieſts followed and accompanied the ſolemn Proceſſion; the remainder of this doleful Pomp was compoſed of Women and

and Children, who lamented with ſuch Tears and Sighs, as if they had bewailed the Death or Loſs of a deareſt Relation taken away in the Flower of his Age, and not of an old and out-worn King. It is ſaid that his Body, by his particular Command, was not burnt, but that he ordered two Stone Coffins to be made, in one of which he appointed his Body to be laid, and the other to be a Repoſitory for his ſacred Books and Writings, and both of them to be buried under the Hill *Janiculum*, thereby imitating the Legiſlators of *Greece*, who, having wrote their Laws in Tables, which they called *Cirbas*, did ſo long inculcate the Contents of them, whilſt they lived, into the Minds and Hearts of their Prieſts, till their Underſtandings became living Libraries of thoſe ſacred Volumes; it being eſteemed a Profanation of ſuch Myſteries to commit their Secrets unto dead Letters. For this very Reaſon, they ſay, the *Pythagoreans* forbad that their Precepts or Concluſions ſhould be committed to Paper, but rather conſerved in the living Memories of thoſe who were worthy to receive their Doctrines; and if perchance any of their abſtruſe Notions or perplexed Cares, ſuch as were their Poſitions in Geometry, were made known, or revealed to an impure Perſon, unworthy to receive ſuch Myſteries, they preſently imagined that the Gods

To commit to writing Divine Precepts, held a Profanation by the Græcian *Lawgivers.*

Gods threatned Puniſhment for ſuch Prophanation; which was not to be expiated but by Sword and Peſtilence, or other Judgments of the Gods. Wherefore having theſe ſeveral Inſtances concurring to render the Lives of *Numa* and *Pythagoras* agreeable, we may eaſily pardon thoſe who make a Compariſon between their Temperament of Soul and Manners of living, believing that there was an intimate Familiarity and Converſation between them.

Valerius Antias writes, that the Books which were buried in the aforeſaid Cheſts or Coffins of Stone, were twelve Volumes of Holy Writ, and twelve others in Greek, containing the Wiſdom and Philoſophy of the *Grecians:* and that about four hundred Years afterwards, when *P. Cornelius* and *M. Bebius* were Conſuls, there happening a great Inundation of Water, which with a violent Torrent carrying away the Cheſts of Stone, overturned them and diſplaced their Covers, ſo that being open'd, one of them appear'd empty without the Skeleton or Reliques of any Humane Body; in the other were the Books beforemention'd, ſtill remaining entire, and not much worn out with time: which when the Pretor *Petilius* had read and peruſed, he made Oath in the Senate, that in his Opinion, it was not fit for thoſe Books to be

be divulged, or made publick to the People; whereupon the Edition of them was ſuppreſſed, and all the Volumes by Command carried to the Market-place, and there burnt.

Such is the Fortune of good Men, that their Virtue ſurvives their Bodies, and that the Envy and Emulation which evil Men conceive againſt them is ſoon extinguiſh'd; but their Reputation and Glory is immortal, and ſhines with more Splendor after their Death, than in the time when they were living and converſant in the World. And as to *Numa*, the Actions of the ſucceeding Kings ſerv'd as ſo many Foils to ſet off the brightneſs of his Majeſtick Virtues: for after him there were five Kings, the laſt of whom was made an Exile, being depoſed from his Crown: Of the other four, three were by Treaſon aſſaſſinated and murdered; the other, who was *Tullus Hoſtilius*, that immediately ſucceeded *Numa*, whilſt he derided his Virtues, and eſpecially his Devotion and Religious Worſhip, reproached his Memory, as a cowardly and mean ſpirited Prince; and, diverting the Minds of the People from their peaceable and honeſt Courſe of Life, to Wars and Depredations, was himſelf ſurprized by an acute and tormenting Diſeaſe: which cauſed him to change his Mind, and call upon the Gods; but it was accompanied with ſuch

Even Atheiſts in time of adverſity implore the Deity.

ſuch Superſtition and vain Imaginations, as was much differing from the true Piety and Religion of *Numa*: and, becauſe he infected others with the Contagion of his Errors, the Gods, as is ſaid, were angry, and revenged their own Diſhonour by a Thunder-bolt which ſtruck him dead.

THE COMPARISON OF *NUMA* with *LYCURGUS*.

HAving thus finiſhed the Lives of *Lycurgus* and *Numa*; we ſhall now (tho the Work be difficult) compare their Actions in that manner together, ſo as eaſily to diſcern wherein they differ'd, and wherein they agreed. It is apparent that they were very agreeable in the Actions of their Lives: their Moderation, their Religion, their civil Arts and political Government were alike; and both inſinuated a Belief in the People, that they derived their Laws and Conſtitutions from the Gods: yet in their peculiar manner of managing

managing theſe Excellencies, there were many Circumſtances which made a diverſity: For firſt, *Numa* accepted the Kingdom being offered, but *Lycurgus* reſigned it; the one from a private Perſon and a Stranger was created King, the other from the Condition and publick Character of a Prince deſcended to the State of a private Perſon. It was glorious to poſſeſs a Throne in Righteouſneſs and Judgment; and great Bravery on the other ſide to prefer Juſtice before a Kingdom: The ſame Virtue which made the one appear worthy of Regal Power, exalted the other to a degree of ſo much Eminence, that it ſeemed a Condeſcenſion in him to ſtoop to a Crown. Laſtly, as Muſicians tune their Harps according to their Note; ſo the one let down the high-flown Spirits of the People at *Rome* to a lower Key, as the other ſcrewed them up at *Sparta* to a higher Note, which were fallen flat by diſſoluteneſs and riot. For it was not ſo much the Buſineſs and Care of *Lycurgus* to reaſon his Citizens into Peace, or to perſuade them to put off their Armour, or ungird their Swords; as it was to moderate their Love to Gold or Silver, or the Profuſeneſs of their Tables, or to abate their Extravagancies in rich Clothes and Furniture: Nor was it neceſſary to preach unto them, that, laying aſide their Arms,

The different qualities of Lycurgus *and* Numa.

they ſhould obſerve the Feſtivals, and ſacrifice to the Gods; but rather, that, moderating the affluence of their Tables and exceſs of Diet, they ſhould become temperate and abſtemious, and employ their time in laborious and martial Exerciſes. So that the one moulded his Citizens into what Humour he pleaſed, by a gentle and ſoft way of Argument; the other with danger and hazard of his Perſon, ſcarce worked upon the Affections of a diſſolute People. It is certain, that *Numa* was naturally endued with a more gentle and obliging way, which mollified the harſh Diſpoſition of his People, and made them tractable, and lovers of Juſtice: But *Lycurgus* was more rigid, and (ſince we muſt mention it) we cannot excuſe his ſeverity againſt the *Ilotes*, or term it other than a cruel Action; and in the ſum of all conclude, that *Numa* was far the more moderate and plauſible Legiſlator; granting even to Servants a Licence to ſit at Meat with their Maſters at the Feaſt of *Saturn*, that ſo they alſo might have ſome taſt and reliſh of the ſweetneſs of Liberty. Some will have it that this Cuſtom was introduced by *Numa* on this juſt reaſon, That becauſe the Servants were inſtrumental in cultivating the Grounds and gathering the Fruits which the Earth produced, there ſhould be a time appointed when they might enjoy the

Numa's indulgence to Slaves variouſly interpreted.

the Fruits of their Labours, in a more free and delightful manner: Others will have it to be in remembrance of that Age of *Saturn*, when there was no diſtinction between the Lord and the Servant; but all lived as Kindred and Relations in a Parity and Condition of Equality. In ſhort, it ſeems that both aimed at the ſame Deſign and Intent, which was to compoſe and incline their People to Modeſty and Frugality; but as to their other Virtues, the one availed himſelf moſt on Fortitude, and the other on Juſtice: Unleſs we will attribute their different Ways to the different Temperaments of their People; for *Numa* did not out of Cowardice or Fear affect Peace, but becauſe he would not be guilty of thoſe Injuries which are the neceſſary Conſequences of War. Nor did *Lycurgus*, out of a Principle of Violence and Fury, promote and excite a Spirit of War in his People, but rather encouraged the Art of War, and inclined their Minds, which were ſoft and enervated by Luxury, to martial Exerciſes; and ſo they might be the better prepared to repel Injuries, and reſiſt the Invaſions of their Enemies. In this manner both having occaſion to operate on their Citizens, and make a change and alteration in their Humours and Manners, the one cut off the Superfluities and Exceſſes, whilſt the other ſupplied the Defects of that which was wanting.

The frame of *Numa*'s Politicks did moſt ſute with the Conſtitution of a Commonwealth, and more reſpected the Humour of a popular Government: for having ranged his People into ſeveral Companies, ſuch as Goldſmiths, Muſicians, Shoe-makers, and other Handicraft Trades, he cheriſhed them, and gave them Privileges by their Charters: But the Government of *Lycurgus* was more Ariſtocratical, conferring the greateſt Authority on the Nobility, and leaving the Profeſſion of Mechanical Arts and Trades, to be the Employment only of Strangers, and of the low and baſer Commonalty. The Citizens he allowed only to manage the Spear and Buckler: Becauſe that being the Miniſters and Servants of *Mars*, they had no great need of Knowledg or Literature, more than to obſerve the Words of Command, and obey their Leaders; intending by their Diſcipline of War to enable them to defend themſelves, and offend their Enemy: For to Men that were really made free and become Gentlemen, all Trade and Traffick was forbidden; and the gainful and pecuniary Arts, and the Care of Proviſions and preparing Suppers and Banquets, made the Buſineſs only of Servants, or of the *Ilotes*. But *Numa* made none of theſe diſtinctions, only he took care that Men grew not Rich by Spoils or Prizes taken in the War, all other

Numa *ſtudious of Trade*, Lycurgus *of martial Diſcipline.*

other Profits and Acquiſitions being allowable by the Law, and not diſhonourable in the eſteem of the World: nor did he endeavour to level Mens Eſtates, or reduce them to an Equality, but gave every Man a liberty to amaſs Wealth, and grow as Rich as he was able; but took no care to provide againſt Poverty, which by the Additions of poor People, which flocked to the City, increaſed daily. In the beginning of all, he ought to have ſuppreſſed or diſcountenanced Covetouſneſs, whilſt there was no great diſparity in the Eſtates of Men, and whilſt the Ballance was equal; and, after the Example of *Lycurgus*, have obviated thoſe many and great Miſchiefs which proceeded from Avarice, as the Fountain and Original of them all: and yet *Lycurgus* is not to be blamed for eſtabliſhing the *Agrarian* Law, which was a dividing of Lands amongſt the People, nor was *Numa* to be reproved for not admitting ſuch Law or Cuſtom in his Juriſdiction; becauſe Equality was the Baſis and Foundation of his Commonwealth, but the caſe of *Numa* was far different: for the Diviſion of Lands having been formerly admitted and made, the taking them away, or altering Mens Properties in them, could not have been performed without the Troubles and Dangers which follow ſuch Innovations.

Their different Laws and Conſtitutions in Marriage, chiefly deſign'd to prevent Jealouſy.

Now as to Marriages, and the regular way of increaſing the World, they both agreed on ſuch political Conſtitutions as ſhould clear the Minds of Husbands from all torment of Jealouſy, and yet their Cuſtoms and Laws herein were diverſly qualified. For when a *Roman* thought himſelf to have a ſufficient Proviſion of Children, in caſe his Neighbour who had none, ſhould come and deſire him to accommodate him with his Wife, that he alſo might have the benefit of Iſſue from his fruitful Woman; he had a lawful Power to lend her to him who deſired her, either for a certain time, or elſe to looſe the Bonds of Marriage, and conſign her into the Hands of her Paramour for ever. But the *Laconian* had another rule, for it was allowable for him to afford the uſe of his Wife to any other that deſired to have Children by her, and yet ſtill to keep her in his Houſe, and retain the Bond and Conditions of Marriage in the ſame force and virtue as before: Nay many Husbands (as we have ſaid) would often invite Men of handſom Features and comely Bodies to their Houſes, in hopes of Children of the like Shapes and Beauty, which they adopted and acknowledged for their own. What difference was there then between theſe ſeveral Cuſtoms; unleſs it be this, That the free uſe which the *Laconians* indulged of their

their Women, was a remedy againſt the Humour of Jealouſy, which often affects Men with ſuch torment of Mind, that their Days conſume in ſorrow and diſquiet: the other of the *Romans* conſerved ſome reſpect for the modeſty of Women, and the ſacredneſs of Marriage, not enduring a Community of Wives in the ſame Houſe, nor a transferring of the right of them to another, unleſs the matrimonial Knot were firſt diſſolved? Moreover, the Conſtitutions of *Numa* as to Virgins were more ſevere, preſcribing Rules to keep them modeſt, and free from all ſuſpicions of unchaſtity: but the Orders of *Lycurgus* were in that point more diſſolute, giving more liberty to Maids and ſingle Women; which afforded to the Poets ſubject for their raillery, as *Ibycus* who gave them the Epithet of φαινομηρίδας, or Wenches that held up their Petticoats as far as their Thighs; and ἀνδρομανεῖς, or rampant Girls that run mad for a Man: ſo *Euripides* ſaith,

Where wanton Girls with roaring Boys,
Fill all their Father's Houſe with noiſe;
Clothes looſely flowing with a ſlit between,
For what we hide, they would have ſeen.

For the Habit which Maidens wore came but to their Knees, and was open on both ſides, ſo that as they walked their Thighs

appeared bare; according to theſe Verſes of *Sophocles*,

Hermione *tuck'd up her Smock on high,*
Not being aſham'd to ſhew her brawny Thigh.

An indecent practice of the Women of Laconia.

This manner of Habit gave the Women ſuch Confidence, that they hen-peck'd their Husbands; and not only bore the greateſt ſway at Home, but alſo had the privilege of Votes in publick Aſſemblies. But the Matrons under the Government of *Numa* were ruled with better *Decorum*: for tho the Husbands were very indulgent to their *Sabin* Wives, endeavouring to compenſate for their Rape, in the Reign of *Romulus*, by extraordinary Kindneſs; yet their Liberty was reſtrained within ſome Terms of Modeſty, which taught them Sobriety and Silence, and to abſtain from Wine and freedom of Diſcourſe, and long Viſits, unleſs in Company or Preſence of their Husbands. So that when at a certain time a Woman had the Confidence to plead her own Cauſe at the Bar in a place of Judicature, it ſeemed ſo ſtrange and monſtrous a thing, that the Senate ſent to enquire of the Oracle, what ſuch a Prodigy in Nature did portend. And indeed the Virtue of modeſt Women is beſt illuſtrated by comparing them with the miſchievous Examples of thoſe that were

leud

leud and impudent: For as the *Greek* Hiſtorians record in their Annals the Names of thoſe who firſt unſheathed the Sword of Civil War, or murdered their Brothers, or were Parricides and killed their Fathers; ſo the *Roman* Writers report, that *Spurius Carvilius* was the firſt who divorced his Wife; being a caſe that never before happened in the ſpace of 230 years from the Foundation of the City; and that one *Thalea*, the Wife of *Pinarius*, was the firſt that had any quarrel or debate with her Mother-in-Law, *Gegania*, in the Reign of *Tarquinius Superbus:* ſo excellent were the Laws and Conſtitutions of the conjugal Rites of that City, that ſuch peccadillio's as theſe were accounted flagitious Crimes, and the leaſt failures in them at firſt were reputed infamous, and fit to be branded and marked with ſhame in the Hiſtory of thoſe times. Now the Laws which *Lycurgus* ordained, either in relation to Virgins or married Women, were different: for he eſteeming Procreation of Children to be the principal end of Marriage, would fix no ſet term of Age, when Men or Women ſhould be eſteemed capable of giving their conſents to each other in Marriage: for he thought that Nature being the principal guide in that matter, ſhould not be reſtrained with violence, which produces hatred and fear; but rather being

Divorce not in uſe amongſt the antient Romans.

being gently indulged, when Youth, and Love, and Kindneſs move; the Coition might be more ſatisfactory, and conſequently the Children become more robuſt, ſtrong and healthful.

But the *Romans* deſigning in the firſt place to deliver the Bodies of their Daughters pure and undefiled into the Embraces and Poſſeſſion of the Husband, made it lawful for Fathers to marry their Daughters at twelve years of age, or under: Which firſt way of *Lycurgus* ſeems more agreeable to the deſires of Nature, which only reſpects the Procreation of Children; but the other is better adapted to make a conjugal Life comfortable, and calculated for the rules of moral living. Howſoever, thoſe general Rules which *Lycurgus* preſcribed for Education of Children, for their meetings together and viſits, as alſo thoſe regulations he made in their Feaſts, or Compotations, Exerciſes and Sports, do argue, that *Numa* was in ſome manner inferior to him in the art and myſtery of giving Laws: For as to Education, *Lycurgus* was of opinion, That Parents were rather obliged to follow the inclinations and genius of their Children, than to adhere to any fixt or formal Rule of Diſcipline: As for example, if a Father deſigning to make his Son a Husbandman, or a Carpenter, a Braſier, or a Muſician; will he

The prudent methods of Lycurgus's *Conſtitutions.*

he not firſt conſult his genius or inclinations, before he oblige him to a Profeſſion whereunto he hath no delight, and for which he hath no Talent or Capacity? For as Paſſengers who embark together in the ſame Ship, tho they have diverſe deſigns, and apply themſelves to different intereſts, yet when Storms ariſe, whereby the whole Cargaſon is endangered, they forſake the thoughts of their private concernments, that they may unite their hands and heads for the common Conſervation; in like manner, the Legiſlators or Law-makers, whoſe buſineſs is the publick good, are not required to give or preſcribe ſtanding Rules for every particular Action or private Affair, but ſuch only as reſpect the common uſe and benefit.

And ſince we may blame the common ſort of Legiſlators, who, either for want of Power or Knowledg, take falſe meaſures in the Maxims they lay down for fundamental Laws: How much rather may we except againſt the conduct of *Numa*, who for the reputation of his Wiſdom only being called and invited by the general conſent of a new and unſettled People to be their King, did not in the firſt place provide and conſtitute Rules for the Education of Children, and the Diſcipline of Youth? for want of which Men become ſeditious and turbulent, and live not quiet

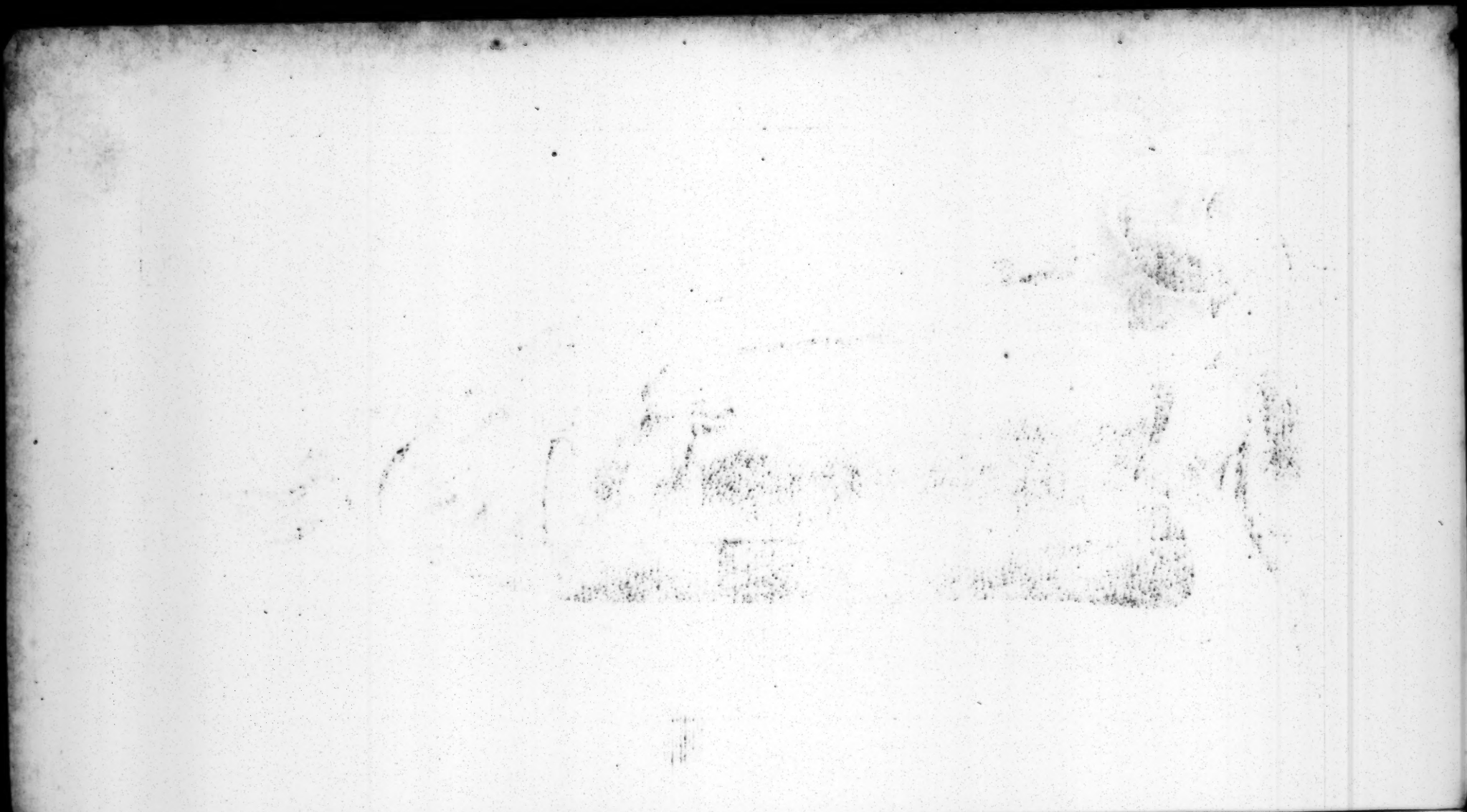
quiet in their Families or Pariſhes; but when they are inured from their Cradles to good Principles, and inſtructed from their Infancy in the Rules of Morality, they receive ſuch impreſſions of Virtue as make them ſenſible of that benefit and eaſe which Peace and mutual Agreement brings to a Commonwealth. This, with many others, was one of the Politicks of *Lycurgus*, and was of great uſe in the confirmation and eſtabliſhment of his Laws. An inſtance we have in the practice of Swearing, and making Oaths a part of Religion, which had proved very inſignificant, unleſs that by good Diſcipline a Principle had been at firſt inſtilled of the ſacredneſs of ſuch a Function: and this was the cauſe that the *Lacedæmonians*, having ſucked in theſe Principles with their Milk, were poſſeſſed with a moſt reverend eſteem of all his Inſtitutions; ſo that the main points and fundamentals of his Law, continued for above 500 years in force with ſtrict obſervance, and without any violation. But *Numa*, whoſe whole deſign and aim was Peace, and to conſerve his People in ſuch a ſenſe of Religion and Divine Worſhip as might conduce to the preſent Tranquillity, did never make proviſions for a future Condition, or for the time of War: and therefore no ſooner did he expire his laſt breath, than Peace vaniſhed with it, and immediately after

An Oath held ſacred by the Lacedæmonians.

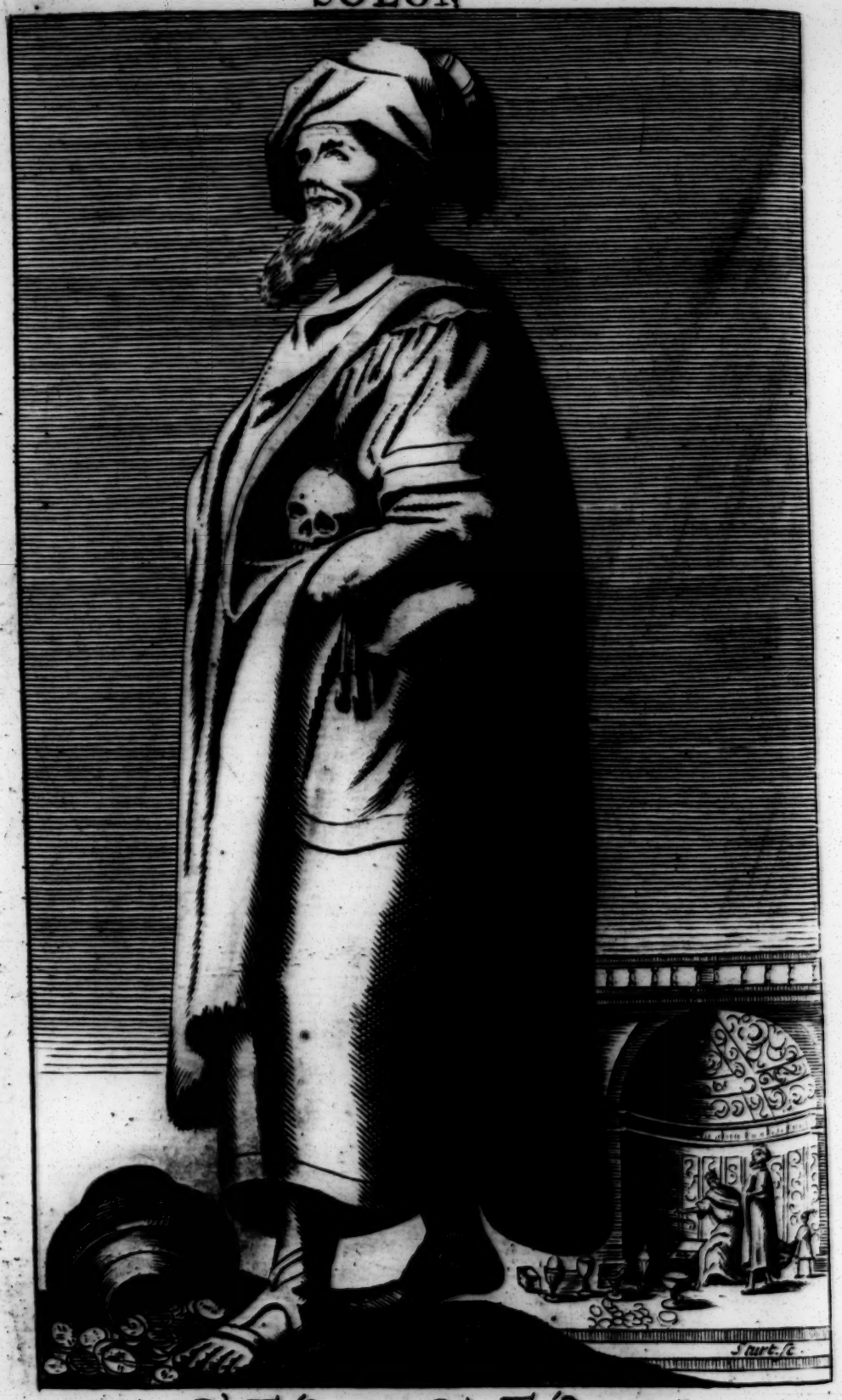
after his deceaſe the Gates of *Janus*'s Temple flew wide open; and as if War had been long pent up within thoſe Walls, it ruſh'd forth like a mighty Storm, infeſting all *Italy* with blood and ſlaughter. And thus that excellent Fabrick, and compoſition of Equity and Juſtice was diſſolved, for want of early Principles, inſtilled by good Education into Youth, which are the foundation to ſupport it, and the neceſſary cement which unites all together, in a fixed and immutable habit. What then (may ſome ſay) hath *Rome* been prejudiced by her Wars? I anſwer, that this Queſtion, which Men make, who take their meaſures from the advance of Riches and Power exalted with Luxury, rather than from that Innocence and Moderation of Mind, which is always accompanied with Tranquillity and Peace, is not to be reſolved by a ſudden Anſwer, but by a long and Philoſophical Diſcourſe. Howſoever it makes much for *Lycurgus*, that ſo ſoon as the *Romans* deſerted the Doctrine and Diſcipline of *Numa*, their Empire grew and their Power increaſed: when on the contrary, ſo ſoon as the *Lacedæmonians* fell from the Inſtitutions of *Lycurgus*, the Fabrick of their Government diſſolved with their Laws, and, the *Græcian* Empire being loſt, they alſo were reduced to the utmoſt

Remiſſneſs in bringing up of Youth prejudicial to the Roman *State.*

moſt point of Deſolation and Ruin. And yet there is ſomething peculiarly ſignal and almoſt Divine in the circumſtances of *Numa*, for he was an Alien, and yet courted againſt his own inclinations to accept a Kingdom: the frame of which tho he entirely altered, yet he performed it without force or coaction, and with ſuch lenity, that nothing was acted but with the aſſent and concurrence of the People. *Lycurgus* on the other ſide favoured the Nobility, and made them the Lords and Rulers over the Commons; and yet that Government was well temper'd alſo, and duly poiſed by Wiſdom and Juſtice.



SOLON



Ω Σόλον, Ω Σόλον.

THE

LIFE

OF

SOLON.

Tranſlated from the Greek,
By *Thomas Creech*, of *Wadham* Coll. *Oxon.*

Didimus the Grammarian, in his Anſwer to *Aſclepiades* concerning *Solon*'s Tables, mentions a Paſſage of one *Philocles*, who delivers that *Solon*'s Father's name was *Euphorion*, contrary to the Opinion of all thoſe who have written concerning him: for they generally agree that he was the Son of *Exeſtides*, a man of moderate Wealth and Power in the City; but of a noble Stock, being deſcended from *Codrus*: his Mother, as *Heraclides Ponticus* affirms,

Solon *of a noble Family.*

affirms, was Couſin to *Piſiſtratus* his Mother; and thoſe two at firſt were great Friends, partly becauſe they were akin, and partly becauſe *Piſiſtratus* was a handſom graceful Man: and they ſay *Solon* lov'd him, and that is the reaſon, I ſuppoſe, that when afterwards they differ'd about the Government, their Enmity never produc'd any hot and violent Paſſion; they remembred their old kindneſſes, and that kept the Flame of their Love and dear Affection ſtill alive. For that *Solon* was Amorous, and unable ſtoutly to reſiſt the force of Beauty, we may conjecture by his Poems; and by a Law he forbad Slaves to perfume themſelves, or love Boys, making that an honourable action, and only fit for Gentlemen, and as it were inviting the Worthy to the practice, when he commanded the Unworthy to forbear. *Piſiſtratus* likewiſe is reported to have lov'd one *Charmus*, and to have conſecrated his Statue in the Academy, where thoſe light their Torches that win the ſacred Λαμπαδοδρομία. *Solon*, as *Ermippus* writes, when his Father had ruin'd his Eſtate in doing Benefits and Kindneſſes to other Men, tho he had Friends enough that were willing to contribute to his relief, yet he was aſham'd to be beholden to others, ſince he was deſcended from a Family who were accuſtomed to do Kindneſſes rather than receive them.

Lov'd Piſiſtratus.

Solon *lov'd Boys.*

He

He therefore apply'd himſelf to Merchandiſe; tho others aſſure us that *Solon* travel'd rather to get Learning and Experience than to raiſe an Eſtate: 'tis certain that he was a lover of Wiſdom, for when he was old he would ſay, Solon *turns Merchant.*

I grow old ſtill learning many things.

But he was no Admirer of Riches, eſteeming him equally wealthy,

Who ſees vaſt heaps of Gold at his Command,
Fine Horſes, and a fair Eſtate in Land;
And Him, to whom indulgent Fate beſtow'd
Sufficient Wealth to buy him Clothes and Food:
But if to this, a Wife, and pratling Boys,
And Youth, and Grace, He hath the height of (Joys.

And in another place,

I would be rich, and yet to raiſe my Purſe
Not cheat, for Wealth ſo got the Gods will curſe.

Now 'tis no ſhame for a prudent Man and a good Citizen not to be ſolicitous about Superfluities, or to look after competent Neceſſaries. In his time (according to *Heſiod*) a Trade was not diſhonourable, nor did it debaſe the Equality of the Profeſſors; but Merchandiſe was a worthy Calling, which brought home the good things which the

barbarous Nations enjoy'd, was the occaſion of Friendſhip with their Kings, and Mother of Experience. Some Merchants have built great Cities, as the Founder of *Maſſilia*, that Man ſo much eſteem'd by the *Gauls* that live about the *Rhone:* Some alſo report, that *Thales* and *Hippocrates* the Mathematician traded; and that *Plato* defray'd the Charges of his Travels by ſelling Oil in *Ægypt*. Now *Solon*'s Softneſs and Profuſeneſs, his Diſcourſe of Pleaſures in his Poems, too looſe for a Philoſopher, were occaſion'd by his Trading Life; for having ſuffer'd a thouſand Dangers, 'twas fit they ſhould be recompens'd with Pleaſure and Enjoyments. But that he accounted himſelf rather poor than rich, is evident from theſe Lines;

Some wicked Men are rich, ſome good are poor;
I would not change my Virtue for their Store:
For that's a ſure Poſſeſſion, firm as Fate;
Whilſt Wealth now flies to this Man, now to that.

Solon a Poet.

At firſt he us'd his Poetry only in Trifles, in vain Humours, and to paſs away his idle Hours: but afterwards his Numbers contain'd moral Sentences, and many Tranſactions of the Commonwealth, which he did not write for the bare ſake of the Hiſtory; but to apologize for his own Actions, and ſometimes

times to correct, chaſtiſe, and ſtir up the *Athenians* to noble Performances. Some report that he deſign'd to put his Laws into a Poem, and began it thus:

We humbly beg a Bleſſing on our Laws
From mighty Jove, *and Honour and Applauſe.*

Of moral Philoſophy, as moſt of the then wiſe Men, he chiefly eſteemed Politicks; in Phyſicks he was very rude and illiterate, as appears by this: *Learn'd only Politicks.*

Soft Snow and Hail fall from a frozen Cloud;
From glaring Lightning Thunder roars aloud;
The Winds make the Seas rough, they vex the Main;
But when they ceaſe to blow, 'tis ſmooth and plain.

And indeed 'tis probable, that at that time *Thales* only had rais'd Wiſdom above Practice into Speculation; and the other ſix were call'd Wiſe from their Prudence in Politick Concerns. Fame delivers that they had an Interview at *Delphos*, and another at *Corinth*, by the procurement of *Periander*, who made Proviſion for their Entertainment: but their Reputation was chiefly raiſed by ſending the Tripod to them all, and *The Meeting of the Wiſe Men.* *Of the Tripod ſent to the Wiſe Men.*

their modeſt refuſal, and complaiſant yielding to one another: For (as the Story goes) ſome of the *Coans* fiſhing with a Net, ſome Strangers, *Mileſians*, bought the Draught at a venture; the Net brought up a Golden Tripod, which (they ſay) *Helen*, at her return from *Troy*, upon the remembrance of an old Prophecy, threw in there. Now the Strangers at firſt conteſting with the Fiſhers about the Tripod, and the Cities eſpouſing the Quarrel ſo far as to engage themſelves in a War, *Apollo* decided the Controverſy, by commanding to preſent it to the wiſeſt Man; and firſt it was ſent to *Miletum* to *Thales*, the *Coans* freely preſenting him with that for which they fought all the *Mileſians*. But *Thales* declaring *Bias* the wiſer Perſon, it was ſent to him; from him to another: and ſo going round them all, it came to *Thales* a ſecond time; and at laſt, being carried from *Miletum* to *Thebes*, it was there dedicated to *Apollo Iſmenius*. *Theophraſtus* writes, that it was firſt preſented to *Bias* at *Priene*; and next to *Thales* at *Miletum*; and ſo through all it returned to *Bias*, and was afterwards ſent to *Delphos*. This is a general Report, only ſome inſtead of a Tripod ſay this Preſent was a Cup ſent by *Craſus*; others a piece of Plate that one *Buthocles* had left. 'Tis reported that *Anacharſis* and *Solon*, and *Solon* and *Thales* were familiarly acquainted; and ſome have deliver'd

Anacharſis *and* Solon *acquainted.*

deliver'd parts of their Diſcourſe. For (they ſay) *Anacharſis* coming to *Athens*, knock'd at *Solon*'s Door, and told him, That he being a Stranger was come to be his Gueſt, and contract a Friendſhip with him: And *Solon* replying, 'Tis better to ſeek Friends at home; *Anacharſis* return'd, Then you that are at home take me as a Gueſt and as a Friend. *Solon* ſomewhat ſurprized at the briskneſs of that Repartee, receiv'd him kindly, and kept him ſome time with him, whilſt he was managing the Commonwealth, and contriving his Laws; which when *Anacharſis* underſtood, he laught at him, for imagining the Citizens unruly Deſires and Affections could be reſtrain'd by theſe Laws, which were like Spiders Webs, and would catch, 'tis true, the weak and poor, but are eaſily broken by the mighty and rich. To this *Solon* return'd, Men keep their Promiſes when neither ſide can get any thing by the breaking of them; and he would ſo fit his Laws to the Citizens, that all ſhould underſtand 'twas more eligible to be Juſt and Obey, than act contrary to the Command. But the event rather agreed with the Conjecture of *Anacharſis*, than *Solon*'s Hope. *Anacharſis*, being one time at the Aſſembly, ſaid, he wondred much that in *Greece* the Wiſe Men ſhould propoſe Cauſes, and Fools determine.

Anacharſis's *Saying of Laws.*

Anacharſis's *Saying of the* Grecian *Aſſemblies.*

Solon *and* Thales *acquainted.*

When *Solon* came to *Thales* at *Miletum*, he wondred that *Thales* took no care to get him a Wife and Children. To this *Thales* made no Anſwer for the preſent, but a few days after dealt with a Stranger to pretend that he came from *Athens* ten days ago; and *Solon* enquiring what News there, the Man, according to his Inſtructions, reply'd, none, but concerning a young Man's Funeral which the whole City celebrated; for he was (as the Story went) the Son of an Honourable Man, and the moſt virtuous of his Citizens, who was not then at home, but had been travelling a long time. *Solon* reply'd, What a miſerable Man is he! but what was his Name? I have heard it, ſays the Man, but have now forgotten it, only there was a great Talk of his Wiſdom and his Juſtice. Thus *Solon* was drawn on by every Anſwer, and his Fears heightned, till at laſt, being extremely concern'd, he mention'd his own Name, and ask'd the Stranger if that young Man was not call'd *Solon*'s Son; and the Stranger aſſenting, he began to beat his Head, and to do and ſpeak all thoſe things which uſually come from Men in ſo great a Paſſion. But *Thales* held him, and with a Smile ſaid, Theſe things, *Solon*, keep me from Marriage and getting Children, which are too great for your Courage and your Conſtancy to ſupport; however be not concern'd at the Report, for 'tis

Thales *concerning Marriage.*

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a Fiction. This *Ermippus* delivers from *Patæcus*, who boaſted that he had *Æſop*'s Soul: But 'tis weak and abſurd not to ſeek Conveniences for fear of loſing them, for upon the ſame account, we ſhould neither love Wealth, Glory, nor Wiſdom, ſince we may fear to be depriv'd of all theſe: Nay even Virtue it ſelf, than which there is no greater, nor more deſirable Poſſeſſion, is often loſt by Sickneſs or Enchantments. Now *Thales*, tho unmarried, could not be free from Solicitude, unleſs he likewiſe took no care of his Friends, his Kinſmen, or his Country; nay (as Hiſtory delivers) he adopted *Cubiſthus* his Siſter's Son. For the Soul having a Principle of Kindneſs in it ſelf, and being born to love, as well as perceive, think or remember, inclines and fixes upon ſome Stranger, when ſhe hath none of her own to embrace. And as when an Eſtate wants a lawful Heir, Strangers or Baſtards endeavour to win the kind Poſſeſſor; and when they have once gotten his Affection, his Care and Tenderneſs encreaſeth with his Love, inſomuch that ſome Men that are rigid againſt the Marriage-bed, and ſlight the Fruit of it, when their Servant's or Harlot's Boy is ſick or dies, are almoſt kill'd with Grief, and miſerably lament. Some have very meanly, and below the Dignity of a Man, mourn'd for the loſs of a Dog, or Horſe; others upon the

We ſhould ſeek Conveniences, tho we muſt once loſe them.

Death of Virtuous Children, have not been concern'd, nor guilty of a mean Action; but paſs'd the reſt of their Lives like Men, and according to the Principles of Reaſon. For 'tis not Benevolence, but Weakneſs that prompts a Man to continual Grief, and makes thoſe fear whom Reaſon hath not arm'd againſt Fortune; inſomuch that they cannot enjoy the thing they deſire, the fear of loſing it ſtill vexing, and bringing conſtant racks and torments to their Minds. Now we muſt not provide againſt the loſs of Wealth, by Poverty; or of Friends, by refuſing all Acquaintance; or of Children, by getting none; but by Morality and Reaſon. But of this too much.

Now when the *Athenians* were tired with a tedious and difficult War, which they managed againſt the *Megarenſians* for the Iſland *Salamis*; and made a Law that it ſhould be Death for any Man, by writing or ſpeaking, to aſſert that the City ought to endeavour to recover it: *Solon*, vext at the Diſgrace, and perceiving thouſands of the Youth wiſh'd for ſome body to begin, but did not dare to ſtir firſt for fear of the Law; he counterfeited a Diſtraction, and by his own Family it was ſpread abroad the City that he was Mad: he ſecretly compos'd an Elegy, and, getting it by heart that it might ſeem extempore, he ran out into the Market-place with a Cap upon his head;

Solon counterfeits himſelf mad.

head; and, the People gathering about him, got upon the Standing of the Cryer, and ſang that Elegy which begins thus:

From Salamis, *that glorious Iſle, I come;*
And bring you News, and noble Verſes home.

That Poem is call'd *Salamis*, it contains an hundred Verſes, and elegantly written. Now whilſt he ſang, his Friends commended it, and eſpecially *Piſiſtratus*, who exhorted the Citizens to obey his Directions; inſomuch that they recall'd the Law, and renew'd the War under *Solon*'s Conduct. The common Report is, that with *Piſiſtratus* he ſail'd to *Coliada*; and finding the Women, according to the Cuſtom of the Country there, ſacrificing to *Ceres*, he ſent a truſty Friend to *Salamis*, who ſhould pretend himſelf a *Renegade*, and adviſe them, if they deſire to ſeize the chief *Athenian* Women, to make all ſail to *Colias*. The *Megarenſians* preſently mann'd a Ship, and *Solon* ſeeing it put off from the Iſland, commanded the Women to be gone, and ſome beardleſs Youth dreſs'd in their Garments, their Shoes and Mitres, and privately arm'd with Daggers, to dance and wanton near the Shore, till the Enemies had landed, and the Ship was in their power. Things being thus ordered, the *Megarenſians* were allur'd with the Appearance, and, coming near, leap'd

Solon *retakes* Salamis.

leap'd eager upon their Prey, ſo that not one of them eſcaped, and the *Athenians* preſently ſet ſail for the Iſland, and took it. Others deliver that it was not taken this way, but that he firſt received this Oracle from *Delphos*.

Thoſe Heroes that in fair Aſopia *reſt,*
All buried with their Faces to the Weſt,
Appeaſe; go offer what ſhall pleaſe them beſt.

And that *Solon* ſailing by night to the Iſland, ſacrific'd to the Heroes *Periphemus* and *Cichris*; and then taking 500 *Athenians* Voluntiers, (a Law having paſs'd that thoſe who took the Iſland ſhould be chiefeſt in the Government) with a number of Fiſher-Boats, and one great Ship, he anchored in a Bay of *Salamis* that looks towards *Eubœa:* and the *Megarenſians* that were then in the Iſland being alarm'd by an uncertain report, in great diſorder betook themſelves to their Arms, and ſent a Ship to diſcover the Enemies. This Ship *Solon* took, and ſecuring the *Megarenſians*, mann'd it with *Athenians*, and gave them orders to ſail to the Iſland with as much privacy as poſſible; and he with the other Soldiers march'd againſt the *Megarenſians* by Land. Now whilſt they were fighting, thoſe from the Ship took the City: and this Relation is confirm'd by the following Solemnity; for an *Athe-*

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nian Ship at firſt ſail'd ſilently to the Iſland, then, with noiſe and a great ſhout, one leaps out arm'd, and with a ſtrong Cry runs to the Promontory *Sciradium*, to meet thoſe that approach upon the Land; and juſt by there ſtands a Temple, which *Solon* dedicated to *Mars*: for he beat the *Megarenſians*, and as many as were not kill'd in the Battel he ſent away upon Articles. But the *Megarenſians* ſtill contending, and both ſides having received conſiderable Loſſes, they choſe the *Spartans* for Arbitrators. Now many affirm that *Homer*'s Authority did *Solon* a conſiderable kindneſs; and that he having inſerted a Line into the Catalogue of Ships, read theſe Verſes when the matter was to be determined.

Twelve Ships from Salamis *ſtout* Ajax *brought,*
And rank'd his Men where the Athenians *fought.*

The *Athenians* account this but an idle Story, and report, that *Solon* made it appear to the Judges, that *Philæus* and *Eurysaces*, the Sons of *Ajax*, being made free of *Athens*, gave them the Iſland; and that one of them dwelt at *Buron* in *Attica*, the other at *Melite*; and that the Tribe of the *Phileides*, from which *Piſiſtratus* was deſcended, receiv'd its Name from this *Philæus*. A further Argument againſt the *Megarenſians*

ſians is taken from the dead Bodies, which are not buried after their faſhion, but according to the *Athenian*: for the *Megarenſians* turn the Carcaſe to the Eaſt, the *Athenians* to the Weſt (but *Hereas* the *Megarenſian* denies this, and affirms that they likewiſe turn the Body to the Weſt) and that the *Athenians* have a Sepulchre for every Body, but the *Megarenſians* put two or three into one: and farther they report, that ſome of *Apollo*'s Oracles, where he calls *Salamis Ionia*, made much for *Solon*. This matter was determined by five *Spartans*, *Critolaides*, *Amompharetus*, *Hypſechidas*, *Anaxilas* and *Cleomenes*. For this *Solon* grew fam'd, and powerful; but his Advice to revenge the Gods at *Delphos*, to aſſiſt him, and not ſuffer the *Cirrheans* to profane the Oracle, got him moſt repute among the *Grecians*: For upon his perſuaſion, the *Amphyctions* undertook the War, as among others, *Ariſtotle* affirms in his Treatiſe of the Victors at the *Pythian* Games, where he makes *Solon* the Author of this Counſel. *Solon* was not General in that Expedition, as *Ermippus* delivers out of *Evanthes* the *Samian*: for *Æſchines* the Orator ſays no ſuch thing; and in the Commentary of the *Delphian* Affairs, *Alcmæon*, not *Solon*, is declared Leader.

Solon's *Religion.*

Now the *Cylonian* Villany had a long while diſturb'd the Commonwealth, even from

from that time when *Megacles* the *Archon* perſwaded the Conſpirators with *Cylon*, that took Sanctuary in *Minerva*'s Temple, to ſtand a fair Trial; and they tying a Thred to the Image, and holding one end of it, went down to the Tribunal: But when they came to the Temple of the Furies, the Thred brake of its own accord; upon which, as if the Goddeſs had refus'd them Protection, they were ſeiz'd by *Megacles*, and the other Magiſtrates. As many as were without the Temples were ſtoned, thoſe that fled for Sanctuary were butchered at the Altar, and only thoſe eſcaped who made their Application to the Wives of the Magiſtrates. But from that time they were call'd execrable, and hated. The remainder of this Faction grew ſtrong again, and had continual Quarrels with the Family of *Megacles*. Now when the Quarrel was at height, and the People divided, *Solon*, being then in reputation with the chiefeſt of the *Athenians*, interpos'd; and by Intreaty and Admonition perſwaded the Execrable to ſubmit to a Trial, and the Determination of three hundred noble Citizens. *Myron*, the Son of *Phlyeus*, being their Accuſer, they loſt the Cauſe; and as many as were then alive were baniſhed, and the Carcaſes of the dead were dug up, and ſcattered beyond the Confines of the Country. In the midſt of theſe Diſtractions, the *Megarenſians* falling

ling upon them, they loſt *Niſæa* and *Salamis* again: Beſides the City was diſturb'd with ſuperſtitious Fears and ſtrange Appearances; and the Prieſts declar'd that the Sacrifices intimated ſome Villanies and Pollutions that were to be expiated. Upon this they ſent for *Epimenides Phæſtius* from *Crete*, who is counted the ſeventh Wiſe Man, by thoſe that will not admit *Periander* into the number: He ſeems to be a pious Man, skilful in the method of Expiations and the Rites of Religion; and therefore the Men of his Age call'd him the new *Curetes*, and Son of the Nymph *Balte*. When he came to *Athens*, and grew acquainted with *Solon*, he ſettled many things in order to his Laws: He made them decent in their Worſhip, abated their Mourning, by ordering ſome Sacrifices preſently after the Funeral; and taking off thoſe ſevere and barbarous Ceremonies which the Women uſually practis'd. But the greateſt Benefit was his cleanſing the City, by certain propitiatory and expiatory Luſtrations; and by that means making them more pliable to Juſtice, and more ready to be united. 'Tis reported that looking upon *Munychia*, and conſidering a while, he ſaid to thoſe that ſtood by, How blind is Man in future things! For did the *Athenians* foreſee what Miſchief this would do their City, they wou'd e'en eat it to be free. And ſome report that *Thales* made the like

Epimenides *the* Cretan.

like Conjecture, for he commanded his Friends to bury him in an obſcure and contemn'd Quarter of *Mileſia*, ſaying that ſhould once be the *Forum* of the *Mileſians*. *Epimenides* being much admired, and preſented by the City with rich Gifts, and conſiderable Honours, requeſted but one Branch of the ſacred Olive; and that being granted, he return'd.

The Athenians quarrel about the Government.

The *Athenians* now free from the *Cylonian* Sedition, and the execrable baniſh'd, fell into their old Quarrels about the Government, there being as many different Parties as there were Diviſions in the City: the higher Quarter favour'd Democracy, the lower Oligarchy; and thoſe that liv'd towards the Sea, ſtood for a mixt ſort of Government, and ſo hindred either of the other Parties from prevailing, At the ſame time alſo the Poor quarrelling with the Rich about the Inequality of Eſtates, the City ſeem'd in a deſperate Condition, and to be freed from its Diſturbances, and ſettled by a Tyranny alone. For all the People were indebted to the Rich: and either they manur'd their Grounds, paying them ſix parts of the Encreaſe, and were therefore call'd *Hectemorii* and *Thetes*; or elſe they engaged their Body for the Debt, and might be ſeized by their Creditors: ſo ſome of them were made Slaves at home, others ſold to ſtrangers; ſome (for no Law forbad it)

it) were forc'd to ſell their Children, or run their Country to avoid the Cruelty of their Creditors; but the moſt and ſtouteſt of the People roſe, and exhorted one another to ſtand to it, to chuſe a Leader, to deſtroy the ſavage Exactors, divide the Land, and change the Government. Then the wiſeſt of the *Athenians* perceiving *Solon* had leaſt practiſed theſe Exactions; that he had not ſided with the Rich, and was not indebted with the Poor, preſt him to aſſiſt the Commonwealth, and compoſe the Differences: Tho *Phanias* the *Lesbian* affirms that *Solon*, to ſave his Country, put a trick upon both Parties, and privately promiſed the Poor a Diviſion of the Lands, and the rich Security for their Debts. *Solon* was unwilling to meddle at firſt, being afraid of the Pride of one Party and the Greedineſs of the other; but he was choſen Archon with *Philombrotus*, and impower'd to be an Arbitrator and ſettle Laws; the Rich conſenting becauſe he was wealthy, the Poor becauſe he was honeſt. There is a Saying of his before the Election, that Equality never breeds War, and this pleas'd both Parties, the Wealthy and the Poor; the one expecting this Equality in Dignity and Power, the other in Riches and Eſtate. Thus there being great Hopes on both ſides, the chief Men preſt *Solon* to take the Government into his own Hands, and when he was once ſettled,

Solon *quiets the Sedition.*

ſettled, manage the buſineſs roundly and according to his pleaſure: and many of the Commons, perceiving it would be a difficult change to be effected by Law and Reaſon, were willing to have one wiſe and juſt Man ſet over the Affairs. And ſome ſay that *Solon* had this Oracle from *Apollo:*

Sit in the midſt, if you the Ship will guide,
And thouſands ſhall aſſiſt to ſtem the Tide.

But chiefly his Familiars chid him for diſaffecting Monarchy only for its Name, as if the Virtue of the Ruler could not make it a lawful Form: That this *Eubœa* had experimented who choſe *Tunondas*, and *Mytilene* who took *Pittacus* for their Prince. Yet this could not ſhake *Solon*'s Reſolution, but (as they ſay) he reply'd to his Friends, 'Tis true a Tyranny is a very fair ſpot, but it hath no way to go out at. And in a Copy of Verſes to *Phocus* he writes: Solon *refuſes to be a Monarch.*

That I have ſpar'd my Country, kept my Fame,
Nor ſtain'd my Glory with a Tyrant's Name;
But when I could deſtroy I choſe to ſave,
I cannot bluſh, I think my Actions brave.

From which 'tis manifeſt that he was a Man of great Reputation before he gave his Laws. The ſeveral Jeers put upon him for refuſing the Power, he delivers in theſe words:

Sure Solon *was a ſoft, a ſhallow Fool,*
Who when the Pow'r was offer'd would not (rule;
The Fiſh were in his Net, that many caught,
Yet he, mean Soul, refus'd to take the draught:
For elſe to have enjoy'd but one day's Reign,
He wou'd have ſuffer'd the ſevereſt Pain:
To have obtain'd ſuch Power in ſuch a place,
He would have loſt himſelf, and damn'd his (Race.

Thus he makes the Many and the Raſcals ſpeak of him. Yet tho he refus'd the Government, he was not too remiſs in the Affairs, he did not appear mean and crouching to the powerful; nor made his Laws to pleaſure thoſe that choſe him: for where 'twas well before, he apply'd no remedy, nor altered any thing, for fear leſt unſetling, and bringing the Commonwealth into a Confuſion, he ſhould be too weak to new model and raiſe it to a tolerable Condition; but what he thought he could effect by perſuaſion upon the pliable, and by force upon the ſtubborn, that he did, joining (as he himſelf ſpeaks) Force and Juſtice. And therefore being afterwards ask'd, if he had left the *Athenians* the beſt Laws that could be given: he reply'd, I have eſtabliſhed the beſt they could receive. The way which the *Athenians* uſe, to take off from the badneſs of the thing, by giving it

Solon's good Behaviour.

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a good and innocent Appellation, as for a Whore, a Miſtreſs; for Taxes, Rates; for Gariſons, Guards; for Priſons, Houſes of Cuſtody; ſeem'd at firſt to be *Solon*'s Contrivance, who nam'd this taking off the People's Debts *Seiſacthia*, a throwing off a Burden. For the firſt thing which he ſettled, was, that what Debts remain'd ſhould be forgiven, and no Man for the future ſhould engage his Body for a ſum of Mony: Tho ſome (as *Androtion*) affirm that the Debts were not taken off, but the Uſe only leſſened, which ſo pleas'd the People, that they nam'd that kindneſs *Seiſacthia*, together with the enlarging their Meaſures, and encreaſing the value of their Mony; for he made a Pound, which before contain'd but ſeventy three Drachms, to contain a hundred, ſo that tho the number of pieces in the Payment was equal, the value was leſs: which prov'd a conſiderable benefit to thoſe that were to diſcharge great Debts, and no loſs to the Creditors. But moſt agree that 'twas the taking off the Debts that was call'd *Seiſacthia*, which is confirm'd by ſome places in his Poem, where he glories that he had remov'd the Tyes from their Eſtates; that heretofore they were Slaves, now Free; that ſome who were ſeiz'd for their Debts he had brought back from other Countries, where by the length of their Exile they had for-

Solon frees the People from their Debts.

gotten their Mother Tongue; and ſome he had ſet at liberty who were in cruel Slavery at home. When he was deſigning this, a very unlucky thing happen'd; for when he had reſolv'd to take off the Debts, and was thinking on a good way and fit beginning for the Action, he told ſome of his Friends, *Conon*, *Clinias* and *Hipponicus*, in whom he had a great deal of Confidence, that he would not meddle with the Lands, but only free the People from their Debts. They uſing the advantage, took up vaſt ſums of Mony, and purchaſed ſome large Farms; and when the Law was enacted, they kept the Poſſeſſions, and would not return the Mony: which brought *Solon* into a great Suſpicion and Diſlike, as if he himſelf had not been abus'd, but was concern'd in the Contrivance. But he preſently ſtop'd this Suſpicion, by releaſing his Debtors of five Talents (for he had lent ſo much) according to the Law: others, as *Goluzelus* the *Rhodian*, ſay fifteen; but his Friends were ever afterward called *Chreocopidæ*. In this he pleas'd neither Party, for the Rich were angry for their Mony, and the Poor that the Land was not divided, and (as *Lycurgus* ordered in his Commonwealth) all level'd to one degree. He, 'tis true, being the eleventh from *Hercules*, and having reign'd many Years in *Lacedæmon*, had gotten a great Reputation, Power and Friends, which he

The difference between Solon *and* Lycurgus.

he could uſe in modelling his State; and applying force more than perſuaſion, inſomuch that he loſt his Eye in the ſcuffle, brought about the moſt effectual means to preſerve and unite a State, by not permitting any to be Poor or Rich in his Commonwealth. But *Solon* could not riſe to that by his Policy, yet he acted to the height of his Power, having nothing but the good Will and good Opinion of his Citizens to rely on. And that he offended moſt that look'd for another poſture of Affairs, he declares in theſe Words:

Once they adorn'd me, but they now deſpiſe,
And ſquint upon me with their envious Eyes!

But in a little time being ſenſible of the Profit, they laid by their Grudg, made a publick Sacrifice, calling it *Seiſacthia*, and choſe *Solon* to new model and make Laws for the Commonwealth: They gave him Power over all their Magiſtracies, their Aſſemblies, Courts, Senates; that he ſhould appoint the Number, Times of meeting, and what Eſtate they muſt have that could be capable of theſe; and diſſolve or continue any of the preſent Conſtitutions according to his Pleaſure. Firſt then he repeal'd all *Draco*'s Laws, except thoſe concerning Murder, becauſe they were too ſevere, and their Puniſhments too great;

Solon *entruſted with all the Power.*

He repeals Draco's *Laws.*

Draco's *Laws.*

for Death was appointed for almoſt all Offences, inſomuch that thoſe that were convicted of Idleneſs were to dye; and thoſe that ſtole a Cabbage, or an Apple, to ſuffer as the Villains that committed Sacrilege or Murder. And therefore *Demades* is famous for ſaying that *Draco*'s Laws were not writ with Ink but Blood: And he himſelf being once ask'd, Why he made Death the Puniſhment of moſt Offences? reply'd, Small ones deſerve that, and I have no higher for the greater Crimes. Next, *Solon* being willing to continue the Magiſtracy in the Hands of the rich Men, and yet receive the People into the other part of the Government, he took an account of the Citizens Eſtates, and thoſe that were worth five hundred Meaſures of Wet and Dry he plac'd in the firſt Rank, calling them *Pentacoſiomedimnoi*; thoſe that could keep a Horſe, or were worth three hundred Meaſures, were nam'd *Hippadatelountes*, and made the ſecond Claſs; the *Zeugitæ* that had two hundred Meaſures were in the third; and all the others were call'd *Thetes*, who were not admitted to any Office, but could come to the Aſſembly, and give their Voices: which at firſt ſeem'd nothing, but afterwards appear'd a conſiderable privilege; for moſt of the Controverſies came to their hearing, becauſe in all Matters that were under the Cognizance of the other

Solon's *Model of his Commonwealth.*

ther Magiſtrates, there lay an appeal to that Aſſembly. Beſides, 'tis ſaid that he was obſcure and ambiguous in the wording of his Laws, on purpoſe to encreaſe the Honour of his Courts; for ſince their differences could not be adjuſted by the Letter, they were to bring all their Cauſes to the Judges, who were as Maſters, and Interpreters of the Laws: And of this Equality he himſelf makes mention in this manner.

What Power was fit I did on all beſtow,
Not rais'd the Poor too high, nor preſt too low:
The Rich that rul'd, and ev'ry Office bore,
Confin'd by Laws, they could not preſs the Poor;
Both Parties I ſecur'd from lawleſs might,
So none prevail'd upon another's right.

And for the greater ſecurity of the weak Commons, he gave all liberty to enter an Action againſt another for an Injury; ſo that if one was beaten, maim'd, or ſuffer'd any violence, any Man that would, and was able, might proſecute the Injurious: intending by this to accuſtom the Citizens, like Members of the ſame Body, to reſent and be ſenſible of one anothers Injuries. And there is a Saying of his agreeable to this Law; for being ask'd what City was beſt model'd? That, ſays he, where thoſe that are not injur'd equally proſecute

Solon's Laws about Injuries.

the unjuſt with thoſe that are. When he had conſtituted the *Areopagus* of the yearly Magiſtrates, of which he himſelf, being Archon, was a Member; ſtill obſerving that the People, now free from their Debts, grew Proud and Imperious; he ſettled another Court of four hundred, a hundred out of each of the four Tribes, which were to inſpect all Matters before they were to be propounded to the People; and to take care that nothing but what had been diligently examin'd, ſhould be brought before the general Aſſembly. The upper Council he made Inſpectors and Keepers of the Laws; ſuppoſing that the Commonwealth, held by theſe two Councils, as by firm Anchors, would be leſs liable to be toſt by tumults, and the People more at quiet. Thus moſt deliver that *Solon* inſtituted the *Areopagus*, which ſeems to be confirmed, becauſe *Draco* makes no mention of the *Areopagites*, but in all Capital Cauſes applies himſelf to the *Ephetæ*. Yet *Solon*'s thirteenth Table contains the eighth Law, ſet down in theſe Words: "Whoever before *Solon*'s Archon-"ſhip were diſgrac'd let them be reſtor'd, "except thoſe that being condemn'd by the "*Areopagites*, *Ephetæ*, or the Kings, for "Murder, or Deſigns againſt the Govern-"ment, had fled their Country when this "Law was made. And theſe Words ſeem to ſhew that the *Areopagus* was before *Solon*'s

He inſtitutes the Areopagus.

The Court of 400.

lon's Laws; for who could be condemn'd by that Council before his time, if he was the firſt that inſtituted the Court? Unleſs, which is probable, there is ſome defect and obſcurity in this Table, and it ſhould run thus; Thoſe that are convicted of ſuch Offences as belong to the cognizance of the *Areopagites*, *Ephetæ*, or the *Prytanes*, when this Law was made, ſhould remain ſtill in diſgrace, whilſt others are reſtor'd: And this was his meaning. Amongſt his other Laws, that is very peculiar and ſurpriſing, which makes all thoſe infamous who ſtand Neuters in a Sedition: for it ſeems, he would not have any one inſenſible and regardleſs of the Publick, and, ſecuring his private Affaits, glory that he had no feeling of the diſtempers of his Country; but preſently join with the good Party, and thoſe that had the right upon their ſide; aſſiſt, and venture with them, rather than ſhift out of harms way, and watch who would get the better. But that ſeems an abſurd and fooliſh Law, which permits an Heireſs, if her lawful Husband prove impotent, to lie with his neareſt Kinſman: Yet ſome ſay, this Law was well contriv'd againſt thoſe, who, conſcious of their own inability, yet, for the ſake of the Portion, would match with Heireſſes, and make uſe of Law to put a violence upon Nature; for now, ſince ſhe can lie with whom ſhe pleaſe, they

The Law againſt Neuters in a Tumult.

The Law about Heireſſes.

they muſt either abſtain from ſuch Marriages, or continue them with diſgrace, and ſuffer for their covetouſneſs and deſign'd affront: Beſides, 'tis well done to confine her to her Husband's neareſt Kinſman, that the Children may be of the ſame Family. And agreeable to this is the Law, that the Bride and Bridegroom ſhall be ſhut into a Chamber, and eat a Quince together; and that her Husband is oblig'd to go in to ſuch Heireſs thrice a Month: for tho he gets no Children, yet 'tis an honour and due affection which an Husband ought to pay to a virtuous chaſt Wife; it takes off all petty differences, and will not permit their little quarrels to proceed to a rupture.

Concerning other Marriages.

In all other Marriages he forbad Dowries to be given, the Wife was to have three ſuits of Clothes, a little inconſiderable Houſhold-ſtuff, and that was all: For he would not have Marriages contracted for Gain, or an Eſtate, but for pure Love, kind Affection, and to get Children. *Dionyſius*, when his Mother adviſ'd him to marry one of his Citizens: Indeed, ſays he, by my Tyranny I have broken my Country's Laws, but cannot put a violence upon thoſe of Nature by an unſeaſonable Marriage. Such diſorder is never to be ſuffer'd in a Commonwealth, nor ſuch unſeaſonable and unperforming Marriages, which neither attain their due end, nor fruit: But any provident

vident Governor or Law-giver might ſay to an old Man that takes a young Wife, what is ſpoken to *Philoctetes* in the Tragedy; Poor Wretch, in what a fit condition art thou to be married! and if he finds a young Man with a rich old Woman, like a Partrige growing fat upon the duty, remove him to a Virgin that needs a Huſband; and of this enough.

Another commendable Law of *Solon*'s, is that which forbids Men to ſpeak evil of the Dead; for 'tis pious to think them ſacred, and juſt not to meddle with thoſe that are gone, and politick to prevent the perpetuity of diſcord. He likewiſe forbad them to ſpeak evil of the Living in the Temple, before the Tribunal, in the Court, or at the Games; or elſe to pay three Drachmas to the private Perſon, and two to the publick: for never to be able to rule Paſſion, ſhews a weak nature, and ill Breeding; and always to moderate it, is very hard, and to ſome impoſſible. Now the matter of Laws muſt be poſſible, if the Maker deſigns to puniſh few in order to their amendment, and not many to no purpoſe. *Not to ſpeak evil of the Dead.*

He is likewiſe much commended for his Law concerning Wills, for before none could be made; but all the Wealth and Eſtate of the deceaſed belonged to his Family: But he permitted them, if they had no Children, to beſtow it on whom they pleaſed; *Concerning Wills.*

ſed; eſteeming Friendſhip a ſtronger Tye than Kindred, and Affection than Neceſſity; and thus made every man's Eſtate in the diſpoſal of the Poſſeſſor: yet he allow'd not all ſorts of Legacies, but thoſe only which were not extorted by the phrenzy of a Diſeaſe, charms, impriſonment, force, or the perſuaſions of his Wife; with good reaſon thinking it all one between deceit and neceſſity, flattery or compulſion, ſince both are equally powerful to perſuade a man from Reaſon.

Laws concerning Women. He regulated the Walks, Feaſts, and Mourning of the Women; and took away every thing that was either unbecoming or immodeſt. When they walk'd abroad, no more than three Coats were allow'd them; a half Penny-worth of meat and drink, nor a Basket above a Cubit high; and at night they were not to ſtir but in a Chariot, with a Torch before them. The Mourners *Concerning Mourning.* tearing themſelves to raiſe Pity, and their lamentations at Strangers Funerals, he forbad. To offer an Ox at the Grave was not permitted; nor to bury above three Garments with the Body, or viſit the Tombs of any beſides their own Family, unleſs at the very Funeral: moſt of which are likewiſe forbidden by our Laws; but this is farther added in ours, that thoſe that are convicted of extravagance in their Mournings, are to be puniſhed as ſoft and effeminate

feminate by the Cenſors of the Women.

He obſerving the City was fill'd with perſons that flock'd from all parts into *Attica* for ſecurity of living, and that moſt of the Country was barren and unfruitful; and the Traders at Sea imported nothing to thoſe that could give them no exchange: he brought his Citizens to Trade; and made a Law that no Son ſhould be oblig'd to relieve his Father, who had not bred him up to any Calling. 'Tis true, *Lycurgus* having a City free from all Strangers, and enough, or (according to *Euripides*) ſufficient for twice ſo many; and abundance of Labourers about *Sparta*, who ſhould not be kept idle, but be broken with continual toil and work; he did well to take off his Citizens from Trades laborious and mechanical, and keep them to their Arms, and teach them only the Art of War. But *Solon* fitting his Laws according to the ſtate of Things, and not ordering Things according to his Laws; and finding the Ground ſcarce rich enough to maintain the Farmers, and altogether unable to feed the lazy Multitude, he brought Trades into Credit, and ordered the *Areopagites* to examine how every Man got his Living, and chaſtiſe the Idle: But that Law was more rigid, which (as *Heraclides Ponticus* delivers) declar'd the Sons of Harlots not oblig'd

Solon inſtituteth Trades.

The difference between Lycurgus *and* Solon.

Law about the Sons of Harlots.

lig'd to relieve their Fathers; for he that will not marry, doth not take a Woman for Children, but for Pleaſure, and thus hath his juſt reward, having no pretence to upbraid his Children, to whom he hath made their very Birth a ſcandal and reproach. But in ſhort, many of *Solon*'s Laws about Women are abſurd: for he permitted any one to kill an Adulterer that found him in the Act; if any one forc'd a free Woman, a hundred Drachmas was the Fine; if he entic'd her, twenty; except thoſe that traded for a price, I mean common Whores; for they go openly to thoſe that hire them. He made it unlawful to ſell a Daughter, or a Siſter, unleſs, being yet unmarried, ſhe was found wanton with a Man. Now 'tis irrational to puniſh the ſame Crime ſometimes very ſeverely and without remorſe, and ſometimes very lightly and as 'twere in ſport, with a trivial Fine; unleſs there being little Mony then in *Athens*, that ſcarcity made thoſe Mulcts the more grievous puniſhment. The value of Sacrifices muſt be one Sheep, and a Drachma for a Buſhel. The Victor in the *Iſthmian* Games was to have for reward a hundred Drachmas: The Conqueror in the *Olympian*, five hundred: He that caught a Dog Wolf, five Drachmas, he that kill'd a Bitch One: the former Sum (as *Demetrius Phalereus* aſſerts) was the value of an Ox, the latter

Solon's Laws about Women.

The ſcarcity of Money.

latter of a Sheep; but thoſe prices which in his ſixteenth Table he ſets on the choice Sacrifices were certainly far greater, for elſe they are very little in compariſon of the preſent. The *Athenians*, their Fields being better for Paſture than Corn, were from the beginning great enemies to Wolves; and ſome affirm their Tribes did not take their names from the Sons of *Javan*, but from the different ſorts of Occupation that they followed; the Soldiers were call'd *Hoplitæ*, the Craftſmen, *Ergatæ*; and of the remaining two, the Farmers, *Georgi*, and the Shepherds and Graſiers, *Aigicoræ*. Beſides, ſince the Country hath but few Rivers, Lakes, or large Springs, and many us'd Wells which they had dug, there was a Law made, that where there was a publick Well within a *Hippicon* (that is four Furlongs) all ſhould draw at that; but when it was farther off, they might provide a private Well: and if they had dug ten fathom deep, and could find no Water, they had liberty to fetch ten Gallons a day from their neighbours: for he thought it prudent to make Proviſion againſt want, but not encourage lazineſs. Beſides, he ſhew'd his skill in the Orders about Planting: for any one that would plant another Tree, was not to ſet it within five foot of his Neighbour's Field; but if a Fig or an Olive, not within nine: for their

Whence the Athenian Tribes call'd.

Solon's Laws about Wells.

Laws concerning Planting, and other things.

their Roots ſpread farther, nor can they be planted near all ſorts of Trees without damage, for they draw away the nouriſhment, and hurt ſome by their venemous effluviums. He that would dig a Pit or a Ditch, was to dig it as far a diſtance from his Neighbour's Ground as it was deep: And he that would raiſe ſtocks of Bees, was to raiſe them within Three hundred feet of thoſe which another had already rais'd. He permitted only Oil to be exported, and thoſe that did export any other Fruit, the Archon was ſolemnly to curſe, or elſe pay himſelf a hundred Drachmas: And this Law was written in his firſt Table; and therefore let none think thoſe liars that affirm, the exportation of Figs was heretofore unlawful, and the Informer againſt the Delinquents call'd a Sycophant. Beſides, he made a Law concerning hurts and injuries from Beaſts, in which he commands the Maſter of any Dog that bit a Man to hang him in a Chain of four Cubits; and this was a good device for Mens ſecurity. The Law concerning naturalizing Strangers is ſevere, for he permitted only thoſe to be made Free of *Athens*, who were in perpetual Exile from their own Country, or came with their whole Family to trade there; and this he did not to diſcourage Strangers, but rather invite them, by making them ſecure of the Privileges of that Government: And beſides, he thought they

Laws about hurtful Beaſts.

Law about naturalizing Strangers.

they would prove the more faithful Citizens, who had been forc'd from their own Country, or voluntarily forſook it.

Law about publick Feaſts.

But the Law concerning publick Entertainments was peculiarly *Solon*'s; for if any Man came often, or if he that was invited refus'd, they were puniſh'd; for he concluded that one was greedy, the other a contemner of the Publick: All his Laws he eſtabliſhed for an hundred Years, and writ them in Wooden Tables nam'd *Axonas*, which might be turn'd round in oblong Caſes; ſome of their Relicks may be now ſeen in the Common-Hall at *Athens*. Theſe (as *Ariſtotle* affirms) are called *Cyrbes*; and *Cratinus* the *Comedian*, ſomewhere ſpeaking of *Draco* and *Solon*, ſays, in thoſe *Cyrbes* they now parch Peaſe. But ſome ſay thoſe are properly *Cyrbes*, which contain the Laws concerning Sacrifices and the Rites of Religion, and all the other *Axonas*. The Senate all jointly ſwore to confirm the Laws, and every one of the *Theſmothetæ* vow'd at the Croſs in the Market-place, that if he brake any of the Statutes, he would dedicate a Golden Statue as big as himſelf, at *Delphos*.

Solon regulates the Months.

Now obſerving the irregularity of the Months, and that the Moon did not always riſe and ſet with the Sun, but often in the ſame Day overtake and go before him; he ordered the Day ſhould be nam'd ἐν καὶ νέᾳ, *the Old and New*; attributing that part of it

which was before the Conjunction to the Old Moon, and the reſt to the New. He being the firſt it ſeems that underſtood that Verſe of *Homer*,

Τῇ μὲν φθίνοντ' ἀμοιρὸς, ἡ δ' ἰσαμένοιο.

The following Day he call'd the New Moon; after the twentieth he added no Day, but counting backward, according to the decreaſing Phaſes of the Moon, he reckon'd up to thirty.

Solon *leaves* Athens.

Now when theſe Laws were enacted, and ſome came to *Solon* every day, either to commend or diſpraiſe them, and adviſe, if poſſible, to leave out, or put in ſomething; and many were curious, and deſir'd him to explain, and tell the meaning of ſuch and ſuch a Paſſage, and he knowing that not to do it was diſobliging, and to do it would get him ill Will; and deſirous to bring himſelf out of all Straits, and take off all Reaſons of Suſpicion from thoſe that ſought them (for 'tis a hard thing, as he himſelf ſays, in great Affairs to pleaſe every Body) he pretended himſelf Maſter of a Ship, and having obtain'd leave for ten Years abſence, he departed; for he hop'd by that time his Laws would be cuſtomary and familiar. His firſt Voyage was for *Ægypt*, and he liv'd (as he himſelf ſays)

Solon *in* Ægypt.

Near Nilus *Mouth, by fair* Canopus *Shore.*

He

He ſpent ſome time in Study with *Pſenophis* of *Hierapolis* and *Sonchis* the *Saite*, the moſt famous of all the Prieſts; from whom (as *Plato* ſays) getting ſome knowledg of the *Atlantick* Iſland, he put it into a Poem, and endeavour'd to bring it into Credit among the *Grecians*: from thence he ſail'd to *Cyprus*, where he was made much of by *Philocyprus* one of the Kings there, who had a ſmall City built by *Demophoon*, *Theſeus*'s Son, near the River *Clarius*, in a ſtrong Place, 'tis true, but barren and uneaſy of Acceſs. *Solon* perſuaded him, ſince there lay a fair Plain below, to remove, and build a more pleaſant and greater City. And he there preſently took care to get Inhabitants, and fitted it both for Defence and Convenience of living: inſomuch that many Subjects flock'd to *Philocyprus*, and the other Kings imitated the Deſign; and therefore to honour *Solon*, he call'd the City *Solos*, which was formerly nam'd *Apeia*: and *Solon* himſelf in his Elegies ſpeaking to *Philocyprus*, mentions this Foundation in theſe Words;

Solon *in* Cyprus.

Long may you live, and fill the Solian *Throne,*
Succeeded ſtill by Children of your own!
And whilſt from your bleſs'd Iſle I gently ſail,
Let Venus *ſend a kind and proſp'rous Gale:*
Let her enlarge the Bounds of your Command,
Amd raiſe your Town, and ſend me ſafe to Land.

Solon *with* Crœſus.

That *Solon* ſhould diſcourſe with *Cræſus*, ſome think not agreeable with Chronology; but I cannot reject ſo credible a Relation, and ſo well atteſted, and (what is more) ſo agreeable to *Solon*'s Temper, ſo worthy his Wiſdom and Greatneſs of Mind, becauſe forſooth it doth not agree with ſome Chronological Canons, which thouſands have endeavour'd to regulate, and yet to this day could never bring the differing Opinions to any agreement. And therefore they ſay *Solon* coming to *Cræſus* at his requeſt, was in the ſame Condition, as an inland Man when firſt he goes to ſee the Sea: for as he fancies every River he meets with to be the Ocean, ſo *Solon*, as he paſs'd through the Court, and ſaw a great many Nobles richly dreſs'd, and proudly attended with a multitude of Guards and Footboys, thought every one had been the King, till he was brought to *Cræſus*, who was deck'd with all the Ornaments of Jewels, Purple and Embroidery, all that could make him fine, and admired, that he might appear the moſt glorious and gaudy Spectacle. Now when *Solon* came before him, and ſeem'd not at all ſurpris'd, nor gave *Cræſus* thoſe Compliments he expected; but ſhew'd himſelf to all diſcerning Eyes, to be a Man that deſpiſed ſuch gaudy Vanities; he commanded them to ſhew him all his Wealth, though he did not deſire to ſee it, and all his Warlike Preparations.

When

When he return'd from viewing all this, *Cræſus* ask'd him if ever he had ſeen a happier Man than he was? And when *Solon* anſwer'd he knew one *Tellus* a Citizen of his, and told him that this *Tellus* was an honeſt Man, had good Children, a competent Eſtate, and dy'd bravely for his Country: *Cræſus* took him for an ill-bred Fellow, and a Fool, for not meaſuring Happineſs by the abundance of Gold and Silver; and for preferring the Life and Death of a private and mean Man, before ſo much Power and ſuch an Empire. He ask'd him again, if beſides *Tellus*, he knew any other Man more happy? And *Solon* replying yes, *Cleobis* and *Bito*, who were Brothers, were very loving and extream dutiful to their Mother; for when the Oxen went but ſlow, they put themſelves into the Waggon, and drew their Mother to *Juno*'s Temple, who was extremely pleas'd with their Action, and call'd happy by her Neighbours; and then ſacrificing, and feaſting, they never roſe again, but died without Pains or Convulſions immediately after they had gotten ſo great a Credit and Reputation. What, ſays *Cræſus* angry, and doſt not thou reckon us amongſt the happy Men? And *Solon*, unwilling either to flatter or exaſperate him more, reply'd; The Gods, O King, in other things have given the Greeks nothing great and excellent, ſo our Wiſdom is bold, and mean and

low, not Noble and Kingly; and this obſerving the numerous Misfortunes that attend all Conditions, forbids us to grow inſolent upon our preſent Enjoyments, or to admire any Man's Happineſs that may change, for what Variety will happen is unknown: but to whom God hath continued Happineſs unto the end, that Man we call happy; but his Happineſs that is yet alive, is like the Glory and Crown of a Wreſtler that is ſtill within the Ring, unſteady and uncertain. After this he was diſmiſs'd, having griev'd, but not inſtructed *Cræſus*. But *Æſop*, he that writ the Fables (being then at *Sardis*, upon *Cræſus* his Invitation, and very much eſteem'd) was concern'd that *Solon* was ſo meanly treated, and gave him this Advice: *Solon*, let your Viſits to Kings be as ſeldom, or as pleaſant as you can: and *Solon* reply'd, No faith, but let them be as ſeldom, or as profitable as you can. Then indeed *Cræſus* deſpis'd *Solon*, but when he was overcome by *Cyrus*, had loſt his City, was taken alive, condemn'd to be burnt, and laid bound upon the Pile before all the *Perſians* and *Cyrus* himſelf; he cry'd out as loud as poſſibly he could three times, O *Solon!* *Cyrus* ſurpriz'd, and ſending ſome to enquire, what Man, or God this *Solon* was, that he only invok'd in this unavoidable Misfortune? *Cræſus* told him the whole Story, ſaying he was one of the Wiſe Men

Solon's Diſcourſe with Æſop.

Men of *Greece*, whom I ſent for, not to be inſtructed, or to learn any thing that I wanted, but that he ſhould ſee, and be a Witneſs of my Happineſs: the loſs of which is now a greater Evil, than the enjoyment was a Good; for when I had them, they were Goods only in Opinion, but now the loſs of them hath brought upon me intolerable and real Evils: and that Man conjecturing theſe preſent Calamities would happen, bad me look to the end of my Life, and not rely and grow proud upon Uncertainties. When this was told *Cyrus*, who was a wiſer Man than *Cræſus*, and ſeeing in the preſent Example that *Solon*'s Saying was confirmed, he not only freed *Cræſus* from Puniſhment, but honour'd him as long as he lived; and *Solon* had the Glory by the ſame Saying to inſtruct one King, and ſave another.

When *Solon* was gone, the Citizens began to quarrel; *Lycurgus* headed the lower Quarter, *Megacles* the Son of *Alcmæon* thoſe that liv'd toward the Sea, and *Piſiſtratus* the upper Quarter, in which were the meaneſt People (the *Thetes*) and greateſt Enemies to the Rich: Inſomuch that tho the City yet us'd their Laws, yet all look'd for, and deſired a change of Government, hoping the Change would be better for them, and put them above the contrary Faction. Affairs ſtanding thus, *Solon* return'd and was reverenced by all, and honoured: But his

Solon *returns to* Athens.

his old Age would not permit him to be as active, and ſpeak in the publick as formerly; but privately diſcourſing with the Heads of the Factions, he endeavoured to compoſe the differences: *Piſiſtratus* ſtill appearing the moſt tractable; for he was a ſweet and taking Man in his Diſcourſe, a Friend to the Poor, and very little given to Enmity or Paſſion; and what his Nature had not given, Cuſtom and Imitation taught: therefore he was truſted more than the others, being accounted a prudent moderate Man, one that lov'd Equality, and would be an Enemy to him that ſtrove againſt the preſent Settlement, rather than undermine it himſelf; by which his fair Carriage he deceiv'd the People. But *Solon* preſently diſcovered him, and found out his Deſign; yet did not hate him upon this, but endeavoured to humble him, and bring him off from his Ambition, and often told him and others, that if any one would take away his aſpiring thoughts and deſire of Empire, none would make a more Virtuous Man, or a more Excellent Citizen. *Theſpis* at this time beginning to act Tragedies, and the thing, becauſe 'twas new, taking very much with the multitude (for 'twas not yet a matter of Strife and Contention) *Solon*, being by Nature a lover of Learning, and now in his old Age living idle, ſporting and cheering himſelf with Muſick and a Glaſs of Wine,

Tragedies begun.

went

went to ſee *Theſpis* himſelf (as the antient Cuſtom was) act; and after the Play was done, he diſcours'd him, and ask'd him if he was not aſham'd to tell ſo many lyes before ſuch a Company: and *Theſpis* replying, 'Tis no harm to ſay or do ſo in jeſt and merriment; *Solon* vehemently ſtriking his ſtaff againſt the Ground, Ay, ſays he, if we honour and commend ſuch Merriment as this, we ſhall find it will creep into our ſerious affairs. Now when *Piſiſtratus*, having wounded himſelf, was brought into the Market-place in a Chariot, and ſtirred up the People, as if he had been thus dealt with for his affection to the Government, and a great many were enrag'd, and cry'd out: *Solon*, coming cloſe to him, ſaid, *Piſiſtratus*, you do not imitate *Ulyſſes* well; for you cut your ſelf to bring your Citizens into a tumult, but he to deceive his Enemies. Then preſently the People would defend *Piſiſtratus*, and gather'd into an Aſſembly; where one *Ariſton* making a motion that they ſhould allow *Piſiſtratus* fifty Club-men for a Guard to his Perſon, *Solon* oppos'd it, and talk'd a great deal ſuch as he hath left us in his Poems:

Piſiſtratus *gets the Government.*

You doat upon his Words and taking Phraſe.
And again,
True, each Man ſingle is a crafty Soul,
But all together ye make one giddy Fool:

But

But obſerving the poor Men an-end to gratify *Piſiſtratus*, and tumultuous; and the rich fearful, and getting out of harms way, he departed; ſaying he was wiſer than ſome, and ſtouter than others: Wiſer than thoſe that did not underſtand the deſign, ſtouter than thoſe that, tho they underſtood it, were afraid to oppoſe the Tyranny. Now the People having paſt the Law, were not exact with *Piſiſtratus* about the number of his Club-men, but took no notice of it, tho he had liſted and kept as many as he would, till he ſeiz'd the Caſtle. When that was done, and the City in an uproar, *Megacles* with all of his Family ſtreight fled: But *Solon*, tho he was now very old, and had none to back him, yet came into the Market-place, and made a Speech to his Citizens, ſometimes blaming their inadvertency and meanneſs of Spirit, ſometimes paſſionately exhorting them, not thus tamely to loſe their Liberty; and likewiſe then ſpoke that memorable Saying, That before 'twas an eaſier task to have ſtop'd the riſing Tyranny, but now the greater and more glorious Action to deſtroy it, when it was begun already, and had gathered ſtrength. But all being afraid to ſide with him, he return'd home; and taking his Arms, he brought them out, and laid them in the Porch before his Door, with theſe words: To the utmoſt of my power I have ſtriven for

for my Country and my Laws; and then he buſied himſelf no more. His Friends adviſing him to fly, he refus'd, but writ a Poem, and thus rattled the *Athenians*:

(Powers,
If now you ſmart, blame not the heav'nly
For they are good, the fault is only ours;
We gave him all our Forts, we took the Chain,
And now he makes us Slaves, yet we complain.

And many telling him that the Tyrant would have his Head for this, and asking to what he truſted that he ventur'd to ſpeak ſo boldly, he reply'd, My old Age. But *Piſiſtratus*, having gotten the Command, ſo honoured *Solon*, obliged and kindly entertained him, that *Solon* gave him his Advice, and approv'd many of his Actions: For he kept many of *Solon*'s Laws, obſerved them himſelf, and compell'd his Friends to obey. And he himſelf, tho then in power, being accus'd of Murder before the *Areopagus*, came quietly to clear himſelf, but his Accuſer let fall the Indictment. And he added other Laws, one of which is, that the maim'd in the Wars ſhould be maintain'd at the publick charge. This *Heraclides Ponticus* delivers, and that *Piſiſtratus* followed *Solon*'s example in this, who had before determin'd it in the caſe of one *Therſippus* that was maim'd: and *Theophraſtus* aſſerts, that 'twas *Piſiſtratus*, not *Solon*, that made

made that Law againſt Lazineſs, which was the reaſon that the Country was better manur'd, and the City not ſo clogg'd with Inhabitants. Now *Solon* having begun a great Work in Verſe, the Relation or Fable of the Atlantick Iſlands, which he had learn'd from the wiſe Men in *Sais*, and was convenient for the *Athenians* to know, grew weary of it; not (as *Plato* ſays) by reaſon of his multitude of buſineſs, but his age, and being diſcourag'd at the greatneſs of the Task: for theſe Verſes teſtify that he had leiſure enough,

The Atlantick Iſlands.

Now I grow old, yet ſtill I learn.

And again,

I mind a Song, a Miſs, and glaſs of Wine;
Theſe are moſt Mens delights, and theſe are mine.

But *Plato* willing to improve the Story of the Iſlands, as if 'twere a fair Eſtate that wanted an Heir, and deſcended to him; makes them ſtately Entrances, noble Encloſures, large Courts, ſuch as no Eſſay, no Fable, no Fiction ever had before: but beginning it late, he ended his Life before his Work; and ſo the Reader's trouble for the unfiniſh'd part is the greater, as the ſatisfaction he takes in that which is compleat is extraordinary: for as the City of *Athens* left

left only the Temple of *Jupiter Olympius* unfiniſh'd, ſo *Plato*, amongſt all his excellent Works, left this only Piece about the Atlantick Iſlands imperfect. *Solon* liv'd after *Piſiſtratus* ſeiz'd the Government (as *Heraclides Ponticus* aſſerts) a long time; but *Phanias* the *Epheſian* ſays, not full two years: for *Piſiſtratus* began his Tyranny when *Comias* was Archon; and *Phanias* ſays, *Solon* dy'd under *Hegeſtratus*, who ſucceeded *Comias*. Now the Story that his Aſhes were ſcatter'd about the Iſland *Salamis*, is too abſurd to be believ'd, or to be any thing but a mere Fable; and yet 'tis written by many conſiderable Men, and *Ariſtotle* the Philoſopher. *Solon's Death.*

The End of Solon's *Life.*

THE

THE LIFE OF P. VAL. POPLICOLA.

Engliſhed from the Greek,
By Mr. *Johnſon.*

NOW *Solon* making ſuch a Figure, to him we compare *Poplicola*; which latter Title the *Roman* People entail'd upon his Merit, as a noble acceſs to his former name *Publius Valerius.* He deſcended from *Valerius*, a man amongſt our Anceſtors, reputed the principal reconciler of the differences betwixt *Roman* and *Sabine*, who with the greateſt ſucceſs perſuaded their Kings to aſſent to his Arbitration, and from a ſtate of hoſtility compos'd them into a friendly Union. To this man *Publius Valerius* owing his Birth, (as they write)

Valerius's *Extraction whence.*

ad pag: 325

POPLICOLA.

MBurghers delin. et sculp.

write) whilſt *Rome* remain'd under its Kingly Government, obtain'd a Name as great from his Eloquence as his Riches; the one courteouſly employing in a liberal Diſtribution to the Poor, the other generouſly in the ſervice of Juſtice, as thereby aſſuring, ſhould the Government fall into a Republick, he would become a chief Perſon in the Community. It happen'd afterward that the unjuſt and illegal aſpiring of *Tarquinius Superbus* to the Crown, with his making it inſtead of Kingly Rule the Inſtrument of Inſolence and Tyranny, mov'd the People into a Hatred and Regret of his Reign; inſomuch that from the death of *Lucretia (ſhe ſacrificing her own Life to the Vengeance of his Violence)* they took an occaſion of Revolt. And *L. Brutus* fitting things for a change, aided with the Conduct of *Valerius*, depos'd the Kings. And whilſt the People inclin'd towards the electing one Leader inſtead of their King, *Valerius* acquieſc'd in this, that to rule was rather *Brutus*'s due, as the Author of the Democracy. But the Name of Monarchy growing odious to the People, and to live under a divided Power carrying a Complacency in the proſpect, they choſe two to the managery thereof: which put *Valerius* in hopes that with *Brutus* he might be elected Conſul, but was diſappointed; for inſtead of *Valerius*, notwithſtanding the Endeavours of *Brutus*, *Tarquinius*

The Uſurpation of Tarquinius Superbus.

αὐτὸν ὅτι τῶν βιαιοτάτων ἐρασταὶ ὑπῆρξε.

Valerius *diſappointed of the Conſulſhip.*

Tarquinius Collatinus was choſen, the Huſband of *Lucretia*, a Man no ways more virtuous than *Valerius*. But the Nobles, dreading the return of their Kings, who ſtill us'd all Endeavours abroad and Solicitations at home, were reſolv'd upon a Chieftain of an intenſe Hatred to them, and no ways indulging to their Intereſt.

His private retirement.

Now *Valerius* was troubled, that his Service for his Country ſhould be ſuſpected to be miſemployed, becauſe he ſuſtained no private Injury from the Inſolence of the Tyrants, withdrew himſelf from the Senate, and practice of the Bar, quitting all publick Concerns: Which gave an occaſion of Diſcourſe and Fear too; leſt, through Malice, reconcil'd to the King's ſide, he ſhould prove the ruin of the State, tottering as yet under the Uncertainties of a Change. But *Brutus* being jealous of ſome others, determin'd to give the Teſt to the Senate upon the Altars: Upon the day appointed *Valerius* came with chearfulneſs into the *Forum*, and was the firſt Man that proteſted neither to contribute to, or promote *Tarquin*'s Deſigns, but rigorouſly to maintain his Liberty; which gave great ſatisfaction to the Senate, and aſſurance to the Conſuls, his Actions ſoon after ſhewing the Sincerity of his Oath.

Γεράμματα ἐπαγωγὰ τοῦ δήμου.

For Ambaſſadors came from *Tarquin*, with *Letters affecting a Populacy*, and full of inſinuating Expreſſions, whereby they thought to

to wheedle the People, assuring them, the King had cast off all Insolence, and made Moderation the only measure of his Desires. To this Embassy the Consuls thought fit to *give publick Audience:* But *Valerius* oppos'd it, and would not permit, that to the poorer sort, who entertain'd the fear of a War with more reluctancy than Tyranny, any Occasion should be offer'd, or any Temptations to new Designs. Afterwards other Ambassadors arriv'd, who declar'd their King would recede from his Crown, and lay down his Arms, only capitulating for a Restitution to himself, to his Friends and Allies, of their Monies and Estates to support their Banishment. Now several inclining to this Motion, and *Collatinus* favouring the Request, *Brutus*, a Person of a fierce and *passionate* Nature, rush'd into the *Forum*, there proclaiming his fellow Consul to be a Traitor, in granting Subsidies to Tyranny and Ammunition for a War, when 'twere cruelty to relieve the Necessities of their Flight. This caus'd an Assembly of the Citizens, amongst whom the first that spake was *Gaius Minutius*, a private Man, who advis'd *Brutus*, and persuaded the *Romans* to take care that those Goods remaining in their Hands, might be employ'd against the Tyrants, rather than being remitted to the Tyrants, to be return'd against themselves: Yet however 'twas the *Romans* Opinion,

οἷς τὸ πλῆθος ὑπεξάγειν.

Brutus's *publick Zeal.*

Τραχὺς ὀργιλῶς.

that whilſt they enjoy'd the Liberty they had ſought for, not to reject Articles of Peace for the ſake of their Goods, but to throw them out after them. This regard of the Goods was the leaſt part of *Tarquin*'s deſign, yet the Demand ſounded the Humours of the People, and became a Preparatory to a Conſpiracy; which the Ambaſſadors endeavour'd, through the delay of their return, under pretence of ſelling ſome of the Goods, and reſerving others to be ſent away, till ſuch time as they corrupted two of the eminenteſt Families in *Rome*, three Senators of the *Aquilian*, and two of the *Vitellian* Family, all of them by the Mother's ſide being Nephews to *Collatinus*; beſides *Brutus* had a peculiar Alliance to the *Vitellian* from his Marriage with their Siſter, by whom he had ſeveral Children; whereof two the *Vitellians*, whom nearneſs of Blood and Education had endear'd each to other, decoy'd into an Aſſociation of their Treaſon, aſſuring them withal, ſhould they intereſt themſelves in *Tarquin*'s Family, and the King's Party, they would be freed from the Dotage and Auſterity of their Father (whoſe Irreconcilement to Offenders they term'd Auſterity, and his Dotage was a Pretext and Plea to the Tyrants for his ſecurity; which occaſioned the continuance of that Sirname.) When upon theſe Inducements the Youths came to diſcourſe

A Conſpiracy ſecretly carry'd by Tarquin's Agents.

Ἐπωπεισαντας αἷμα.

courſe the *Aquilians*, all thought it convenient to oblige themſelves in a ſolemn and dreadful Oath, with the Ceremony of *drinking the Blood* of a murthered Man, and touching his Entrails. To which deſign they reſorted to the Habitation of the *Aquilians*, where was an Houſe allotted for this Tranſaction, (as happen'd) darkſome and deſolate; for the Domeſtick *Vindicius* made no appearance, but there abſconded himſelf, not out of Deſign, or any Intelligence of the Affair, but accidentally being within, and ſeeing with how much *Haſte* and *Concern* they came in, was afraid to be diſcover'd, but plac'd himſelf behind a Cheſt, ſo as he might obſerve their Actions and over-hear their Debates. The reſult was to kill the Conſuls, and they wrote Letters to *Tarquin* advertiſing the ſame, and entruſted them in the Hands of the Ambaſſadors, lodging then at the *Aquilians*, and were preſent at the Conſult.

A horrid Confirmation of Treaſon.

Μετὰ σπουδῆς.

Upon their departure thence *Vindicius* crept out of his Obſcurity, but not underſtanding how to manage the Buſineſs, was at a ſtand; for to arraign the Sons before the Father *Brutus*, or the Nephews to the Uncle *Collatinus*, ſeem'd equally (as 'twas indeed) a Scene of Horror; yet he knew no private *Roman*, to whom he could *entruſt Secrets of ſuch Important*, and yet could not ſuffer to be buried in ſilence, what his Con-

Ἐχέγγυον τῶν ἀπορρήτων τηλικούτων.

Valerius made acquainted with the Conſpiracy.

ſcience engag'd him to reveal; and therefore addreſs'd himſelf to *Valerius*, the Generoſity of the Man and Civility inviting thereto, being a Perſon to whom the needy had eaſie acceſs, and never ſhut his Gates againſt the Petitions or the Indigences of a low Eſtate: but when *Vindicius* had made a total Diſcovery to him, his Brother *Marcus* and his own Wife being preſent at the Relation, *Valerius* was ſtruck with Amazement, and by no means would diſmiſs the Diſcoverer, but confin'd him to his own Houſe, and plac'd his Wife as a Guard to the Gates, ſending his Brother in the interim to beſet the King's Palace, and to ſeize, if poſſible, their Letters, and ſecure the Domeſticks; whilſt he with his conſtant attendance of Clients and Friends, and a great retinue of Servants, repair'd to the Houſe of the *Aquilians*, who were abſent from home, and forcing an entrance thro the Gates, happen'd upon the Letters then lying in the Lodgings of the Ambaſſadors. Whilſt things were in this motion, the *Aquilians* made an haſty return, and muſtering themſelves about the Gate, endeavour'd a recovery of the Letters: The other Party made a reſiſtance, who caſting their Gowns about their Necks, and uſing Violence one to the other, at length hurried them with great difficulty through the Streets into the *Forum*. The like Engage-

His prudent managery thereof.

ment

ment happen'd about the King's Palace, where *Marcus* ſeiz'd ſome other Letters, deſign'd to be convey'd away in the Goods, and laying hands on what Servants his induſtry could find, drag'd them alſo into the *Forum*. When the Conſuls had quieted the tumult, *Vindicius* was brought out by the Orders of *Valerius*, and the Accuſation read; the Letters were opened, to which the Traitors could make no Plea. Moſt ſtood mute and dejected as ſenſible of the Villany; yet ſome, to ingratiate themſelves with *Brutus*, mention'd Baniſhment, and the Tears of *Collatinus*, attended with *Valerius*'s ſilence, gave ſome hopes of Mercy. But *Brutus* calling his two Sons by their Names, "Canſt "thou (ſaid he) O *Titus*, nor thou *Valerius*, "make no defence againſt the Indictment? The Queſtion being thrice propos'd, and no return made to *Brutus*, he turn'd himſelf to the Lictors, and cry'd, "What remains is "your Duty. The Lictors preſently ſeiz'd the Youths, and ſtripping them of their Garments, bound their Hands behind them, and tore their Bodies with Scourges, which ſeem'd too tragical a Scene to be gaz'd upon; yet 'tis obſervable, *Brutus* made it the object of his choice, and would not ſuffer the leaſt glance of Pity to ſoften and ſmooth his wonted Rigour and Auſterity, but reſolutely made his Eyes attend the Execution, even whilſt the Lictors, extending them on

The impartial proceeding of Brutus.

His ſevere Sentence.

the Ground, with an Ax cut off their Heads; then he departed, committing the reſt to the Judgment of his Collegue. This was an Action equally as capable of Commendation as Reproof, for either the greatneſs of his Virtue rais'd him above the Impreſſions of Sorrow, or the extravagancy of his Miſery took away all Senſe of it: but neither ſeem'd common or the reſult of his Humanity, but either proceeded from a *Divine* *Ἢ θεῖον, ἢ ἀναίσθητος.* *Efficacy*, or a *Brutiſh Stupidity*; yet 'tis more reaſonable we award it to his Honour, leſt through the weakneſs of the Judge his Virtue ſhould hazard a diſrepute; for in the *Romans* Opinion *Brutus* labour'd more to reduce and ſettle the Government, than *Romulus* to found the City.

Upon *Brutus*'s departure out of the *Forum*, a Conſternation, Horror and Silence for ſome time poſſeſs'd all that reflected on what was done: beſides, the eaſineſs and forbearance of *Collatinus* gave Confidence to the *Aquilians* to requeſt ſome time to anſwer their Charge, and that *Vindicius* their Servant ſhould be remitted into their hands, and no longer harbour'd amongſt their Accuſers. The Conſul ſeem'd inclin'd to their Motion, and thereupon diſſolv'd the Aſſembly; but *Valerius* would not ſuffer *Vindicius* to depart, who was encircled with the Rabble, nor the People to withdraw without cenſuring the Traitors; at length laid

laid violent Hands upon the *Aquilii*, and calling *Brutus* to his aſſiſtance, exclaim'd againſt the unreaſonable Proceedings of *Collatinus*, to impoſe upon his Collegue the *neceſſity of taking away the Lives of his own Sons*, and yet have thoughts of gratifying ſome Women with the Lives of Traitors and Enemies to their Country. *Collatinus* at this being diſpleas'd, and commanding *Vindicius* to be taken away, the Lictors diſpers'd the Rabble, and ſeiz'd their Man, and beat off whoſoever endeavour'd a Reſcue. But *Valerius*'s Friends withſtood the ſeizure, and the People cry'd out for *Brutus*, who returning, and ſilence being made, aſſur'd them he had ſhew'd himſelf a ſevere Animadverter upon his own Sons, and therefore left the reſt to the Suffrages of the Free Citizens, allowing every Man to ſpeak his Pleaſure, and gain the People over to his Perſwaſion. But there was no need of Oratory, for it being referr'd to the Vote, they were return'd condemn'd by all the Suffrages, and were accordingly beheaded.

Ἀνάγκλω παιδοφονίας.

When *Collatinus* ſaw his Alliance to the Kings had render'd him ſuſpicious, and his Name had made him odious to the People, who abominated the Name of *Tarquin*; and perceiving himſelf as an Offence to every one, relinquiſh'd his Charge, and departed the City. The Court being call'd, in his room *Valerius* honourably obtain'd the

Collatinus *reſigns his Conſulſhip.*

Valerius *declar'd Conſul.*

Conſulſhip as a juſt Reward of his good Will; of which he thought *Vindicius* deſerv'd a ſhare, whom he made Denizon of *Rome*, and gave him the privilege of voting in what Tribe ſoever he was pleas'd to be enroll'd: (Which liberty in voting, *Appius* a long time after, out of a popular deſign, granted to other Libertines) and from this *Vindicius*, a perfect Manumiſſion is call'd to this Day *Vindicta*. This done, the Goods of the Kings are expos'd to Plunder, and the Palace to Ruin: The *pleaſant Campus Martius*, which *Tarquin* enjoy'd, was devoted to the Service of that God; but happening to be Harveſt Seaſon, and the Sheaves yet lodging on the Ground, they thought it not reaſonable to commit them to the Flail, or unſanctify them with any uſe; and therefore carrying them to the River ſide, and Trees withal that were cut down, they caſt all into the Water, and dedicated a ſluggiſh and fruitleſs Soil to the Deity. Now theſe thrown in one upon another, and cloſing together, the Stream did not bear them far, but being carry'd down together, and ſinking to the bottom, there gain'd a Settlement; and finding no farther a conveyance, but there ſtop'd and interwoven one with another, the Stream work'd the Maſs into a firmneſs, and waſh'd down Mud, which ſettling there, became an Acceſſion of Matter as well as Cement to the

Ουινδίκτα.

Αρεία πεδία τὸ ἄδιστον.

The Dedication of the Campus Martius.

the Rubbiſh; inſomuch that the violence of the Waves could not remove it, but forc'd all things to it, and then with a gentle preſſure clos'd it together, which by reaſon of their bulk and ſolidity gaining new ſubſidies, and the neighbouring ſpace receiving what the Stream brought down, at laſt grew into an Iſland, call'd *Inſula Sacra*, lying by the City, adorn'd with the Temples of the Gods and conſecrated Walks, call'd in the Latin Tongue *inter duos pontes*. Tho ſome ſay, this happened not at the dedication of *Tarquin*'s Field, but in after times, when *Tarquinia*, a Veſtal Prieſteſs, gave the adjacent Field to the Publick, and for that obtain'd great Honours, as amongſt the reſt, that of all Women her Teſtimony alone ſhould find Credit and Acceptance, and had the liberty to marry, but refus'd it: and thus ſome write it happened.

Μίαν δὲ λευκοῦν γαμουμένων.

But *Tarquin*, deſpairing of a return to his Kingdom by the Conſpiracy, found a kind Reception amongſt the *Tuſcans*, who with a great Army lead him out into the Field; the Conſuls headed the *Romans* againſt them, and made their rendevouz in the holy Places, the one call'd the *Arſian* Grove, the other the *Æſuvian* Meadow: When they came *to charge*, *Aruns* the Son of *Tarquin*, and *Brutus* the Roman Conſul, not incidentally encountring each other, but out of a malicious Rage (the one to avenge Tyranny

Συνάγειν εἰς χεῖρας. *The ſingle Engagement of Aruns with Brutus.*

Tyranny and Enmity to his Country, the other his Baniſhment) ſet Spurs to their Horſes, and ingaging with fury inſtead of reaſon, grew unmindful of their own ſecurity, and ſo fell together in the Combat. This ſo dreadful an Onſet hardly enſur'd a more favourable End; but both Armies doing and receiving equal damage, were diverted by a Storm. Now *Valerius* was much concern'd, not knowing the ſucceſs of the day; and ſeeing his Men as well diſmayed at the ſight of their own Dead, as reviv'd at the loſs of the Enemy, ſo undiſcernable alike had the greatneſs of the Slaughter made the appearance, that each ſide upon *a review of their Remains* adjudg'd to themſelves rather a Defeat, than from the eſtimate each made of his Enemy, a Victory. The Night being come, (and ſuch as one may preſume muſt follow ſuch a Battel) and the Armies laid to reſt, they write, the *Grove ſhook* and murmured a Voice, ſaying, that the *Tuſcans* loſt one Man more than the *Romans*, which was eſteem'd as an Oracle, and the *Romans* preſently entertain'd it with ſhouts and expreſſions of joy: whilſt the *Tuſcans* through fear and amazement deſerted their Tents, and were much diſpers'd. The *Romans* falling upon the Remains, which amounted to nigh five thouſand, took them Priſoners, and plunder'd the Camp: When they numbred the Dead, they

Ἐσχὸν ὀφώμενα τὰ οἰκεῖα.

Σεισθῆναι τὸ ἄλσος.

The Tuſcans *vanquiſhed by the* Romans.

they found on the *Tuſcans* ſide eleven thouſand and three hundred, exceeding their own loſs but by one Man. This Fight happen'd upon the laſt of *February*, and *Valerius* triumph'd upon the Conqueſt, being the firſt Conſul that adorn'd it with a Chariot; which ſight as it appear'd magnificent, ſo 'twas receiv'd with a Veneration free from envy, or (what ſome ſuggeſt) an offence to the Spectators; neither did it ſavour of Emulation or Ambition, when 'twas deriv'd to after-Ages. The People applauded likewiſe the Honours he did to his Collegue, in ſetting forth his Obſequies with a Funeral Oration; which ſo pleas'd the *Romans*, and found ſo good a Reception, that it became cuſtomary for the beſt Men to celebrate the Funerals of great Men with Speeches in their Commendation; and their Antiquity is affirm'd to be greater than that of *Greece*: unleſs, according to the Orator *Anaximenes*'s Account, we acknowledge *Solon* to be Author.

Valerius *why diſeſteemed by the People.*

Yet ſome part of *Valerius*'s behaviour gave an offence and diſguſt to the People: For as *Brutus*, whom they eſteem'd as Patriot of their Liberty, had not preſum'd to lord it without a Collegue, but ſtill aſſum'd one and then another to him in his Commiſſion; ſo *Valerius* (ſaid they) carrying all things by his Power, ſeem'd not a Succeſſor to *Brutus*, having no deference

to

to the Conſulſhip, but an aim to *Tarquin*'s Tyranny; and notwithſtanding his verbal Harangues to *Brutus*'s Memory, yet when he was attended with all the Rods and Axes, and came from an Houſe as ſtately as that he demoliſh'd of the Kings, thoſe actions ſhew'd him an imitator of *Tarquin*: beſides his dwelling Houſe, call'd *Velia*, was *more magnificent*, which hanging over the *Forum*, overlook'd all Tranſactions there; the acceſs to it was hard, and the return from it difficult; but to ſee him come down, was a ſtately Proſpect, and equal'd the majeſty of a King. But *Valerius* ſhew'd how much it imported Men in Power and great Offices to give admittance to Truth before Flattery; for upon his Friends remonſtrances, that he diſpleas'd the People, he contended not, neither reſented it, but that very night ſending for Carpenters, pulled down his Houſe, and level'd it with the Ground; ſo that in the morning the People flocking thither ſaw the Ruins, they lov'd and admir'd the generoſity of the Man, and deplor'd the Conſul's loſs, who *wanting an Houſe*, was forc'd to ſeek a foreign Habitation; and wiſh'd a repair of ſo much beauty and magnificence, as to one to whom malice had unjuſtly procur'd the ruin. His Friends receiv'd him, till the Place the People gave him was furniſh'd with an Houſe, though leſs ſtately than his own, where now

Τεγγικώτερον.

Valerius *demoliſheth his ſtately Houſe.*

Ὥσπερ ἀνεστία.

now ſtands the Temple call'd *Vicus Publicus*.

He reſolv'd to render the Government as well as himſelf, inſtead of terrible, familiar and pleaſant to the People, and parted the Axes from the Rods, and always upon his entrance into the Aſſembly, with an humble ſubmiſſion vail'd them to the People, as *reſtoring thereby the excellency of a Commonwealth*: and this the Conſuls obſerve to this day. But the Humility of the Man, which the People thought real, was but a device, to abate their envy by this moderation; for as much as he detracted from his Liberty, ſo much he advanc'd in his Power, the People ſtill ſubmitting with ſatisfaction, which they expreſs'd by calling him *Poplicola*, i. e. *a popular Man*; which name had the preheminence of the reſt, and therefore in the ſequel of this Hiſtory we ſhall uſe no other. He gave free leave to any to ſue for the Conſulſhip, but before the admittance of a Collegue, miſtruſting futurity, leſt the emulation or the ignorance of him ſhould croſs his deſigns, by his own Authority enacted ſome good and noble Conſtitutions. Firſt he ſupply'd the vacancies of the Senators, which either *Tarquin* long before put to death, or the War lately cut off; thoſe that were regiſtred, they write, amounted to One hundred threeſcore and four: afterwards he made ſeveral Laws, which added

Μεταποιεῖν τὸ σεμνὸν τῆς δημοκρατίας.

Δημοκόλαν.

The Ordinances and Laws of Poplicola.

added much to the Peoples liberty, as one granting Offenders the liberty of appealing to the People from the cenſure of the Conſuls; a ſecond, that made it Death to uſurp the Magiſtracy without the Peoples conſent; a third for the relief of poor Citizens, which taking off their Taxes encourag'd their labours; another againſt Diſobedience to the Conſuls, which was no leſs popular than the reſt, and rather to the benefit of the Commonalty, than to the advantage of the Nobles; for it impos'd upon Diſloyalty the penalty of ten Oxen and two Sheep, the price of a Sheep being ten *Oboli*, of an Ox an hundred. For the uſe of Money was then infrequent amongſt the *Romans*, their Wealth conſiſting in a plenty of Cattle; ſo that afterwards their Eſtates were call'd *Peculia* from *Pecus*, i. e. *Cattle*, and had upon their antient Money engrav'd an Ox, a Sheep, or an Hog; and hence ſirnam'd their Sons *Suilli*, *Bubulci*, or *Caprarii*, (they calling *Capræ*, Goats, and *Porci*, Hogs.) Theſe Laws ſhew'd the evenneſs and the popularity of the Giver; yet amidſt this moderation he inſtituted one exceſſive Puniſhment, for he made it lawful without accuſation to take away any Man's Life that aſpir'd to Tyranny, and acquitted the Executioner, if he produc'd Evidences of the Crime; for tho 'twas not probable, whoſe deſigns were ſo great, to eſcape all notice, yet

Money not much in uſe among the Romans.

Πεκέλια ἀπὸ τ ων Ϛάτων.

yet becauſe 'twas poſſible his Power might prevent Judgment, which the Uſurpation it ſelf would then take off, he gave a Licence to any to *prevent the Uſurper*. He was honour'd likewiſe for the Law touching the Treaſury; and becauſe neceſſity ingag'd the Citizens out of their Eſtates to contribute to the maintenance of Wars, and he being unwilling himſelf to be concern'd in the Care of it, or to permit his Friends, or indeed that the publick Mony ſhould be entruſted into private Hands, allotted the Temple of *Saturn* for the Treaſury (in which to this Day they repoſite the Tribute-Mony) and granted the People the liberty of chuſing two young Men as *Queſtors*, i. e. *Treaſurers*; and the firſt were *P. Veturius* and *Minutius Marcus*, there being a great Sum collected, for they aſſeſs'd one hundred and thirty thouſand, excuſing Orphans and Widows from the Payment. Affairs ſtanding in this poſture, he admitted *Lucretius*, the Father of *Lucretia*, as his Collegue, and gave him the precedence in the Government by reſigning up the *Faſces*, i. e. *Rods*, to him as due to his Years; which humble obſervance to Age was deriv'd to Poſterity. But within a few Days *Lucretius* dy'd, and *Marcus Horatius* ſucceeded in that Honour, and continu'd the remaining part of the Year.

Πεϱολαβεῖν τὴν ἀδικίαν.

ταμίας.

P. Veturius *and* Minutius Marcus, *firſt Queſtors in* Rome.

Τοὺς ϰαλουμένους φάσκης.

Now

Now whilſt *Tarquin* was making Preparations in *Tuſcany* for a ſecond War againſt the *Romans*, 'tis ſaid a portentous Accident fell out. When *Tarquin* was King, and having not compleated the Buildings of the Capitol, he deſigning, whether from a Divine Impulſe, or his own Pleaſure, to erect an Earthen Chariot upon the top, entruſted the Workmanſhip to *Tuſcans* of the City *Veies*, but ſoon after was oblig'd to retire from his Kingdom: the Work thus modell'd, the *Tuſcans* ſet in a Furnace, but the Clay ſhew'd not thoſe paſſive Qualities which uſually attend its Nature, to ſubſide and be condens'd upon the Exhalations of the moiſture, but roſe up and ſwell'd to that bulk, that being conſolidated and firm, notwithſtanding the removal of the Head and breaking down the Walls of the Furnace, it could not be taken out without much difficulty. The Wiſe Men look'd upon this as a Divine Prognoſtick of Succeſs and Power to thoſe that ſhould enjoy it, and the *Tuſcans* reſolv'd not to deliver it to the *Romans* who demanded it; but anſwer'd, that it rather belong'd to *Tarquin*, than to thoſe that forc'd him into Exile. A few Days after there happen'd an Horſe-Race with the uſual Shows and Solemnitys: the Charioteer with his Crown on his Head ſoftly driving his Victorious Chariot out of the Ring, the Horſes, upon no apparent occaſion

occaſion affrighted, but either out of a Divine Inſtigation or an Accidental, hurry'd away their Driver full ſpeed to *Rome*; neither did his holding them in prevail, or his *gentle Soothings*, but with Violence was forc'd along, till coming to the Capitol, was there thrown by the Gate call'd *Ratumena*. This Occurrence rais'd Wonder and Fear in the *Veians*, who upon this permitted a Delivery of the Chariot. ὧδε παρη-γορῆσθαι.

Now *Tarquin*, the Son of *Demaratus*, warring with the *Sabins*, avow'd the Building of the Capitol, which *Tarquinius Superbus*, Grandſon to the Avower, began, yet could not dedicate it, becauſe he loſt his Kingdom before 'twas finiſh'd. When 'twas compleated and adjuſted with all its Ornaments, *Poplicola* had a great Ambition to the Dedication, but the Nobility envy'd him that Honour, as well as thoſe his Prudence in making Laws and Conduct in Wars entitled him to: And preſuming he merited not the Addition of this, they importun'd *Horatius* to ſue for the Dedication; and whilſt *Poplicola* was engag'd to lead the Army into the Field, voted it to *Horatius*, and accordingly conducted him to the Capitol, aſſuring themſelves, that were *Poplicola* preſent, they ſhould not have prevail'd. Yet ſome write, *Poplicola* was by Lot deſtin'd againſt his Will to the Army, the other to the Dedication; and what happen'd

Poplicola *ambitious of dedicating the Capitol.*

in the Performance, ſeems to intimate ſome ground for this Conjecture: for upon the Ides of *September*, which happens about the Full-Moon of the Month *Metagitnion*, the People flocking to the Capitol, and Silence enjoin'd, *Horatius*, after the Performance of other Ceremonies, holding the Doors, according to cuſtom pronounc'd the Words of Dedication; then *Marcus* the Brother of *Poplicola*, who had ſtood for ſome time at the Door, obſerving his opportunity, cry'd, "*O Conſul, thy Son lies dead in the Camp*;" which made great Impreſſions upon the Auditory, yet in to wiſe diſcompos'd *Horatius*, receiving only this Reply, "*Then caſt* "*the dead out whither you pleaſe, for I ſhall* "*not admit of Sorrow*;" and ſo purſu'd his Dedication. This News was not true, but *Marcus* thought the Lye might avert him from his Performance. This argu'd him a Man of an admirable Conſtancy, whether he preſently ſaw through the Cheat, or believ'd it as true, ſhewing no Diſcompoſure in his Paſſions. The ſame Succeſs attended the Dedication of the Second Temple: The Firſt is ſaid to be built by *Tarquin*, and dedicated by *Horatius*, which was burn'd down in the Civil Wars. The Second *Sylla* built, and dying before the Dedication, bequeath'd that Honour to *Catulus*; but when this was demoliſh'd in the Vitellian Sedition, *Veſpaſian* with ſomewhat like Succeſs began

μεταγειτνιῶνος.

Horatius's *undaunted Reply to* Marcus.

began a Third, and ſaw it finiſh'd, but liv'd not to ſee its Ruins, which accompany'd his Death; yet ſurviving the Dedication of his Work, ſeem'd more fortunate than *Sylla*, who dy'd before his, though immediately after his Death 'twas conſum'd by Fire. A Fourth was built by *Domitian*, and dedicated. 'Tis ſaid *Tarquin* expended forty thouſand Pound of Silver in the very Foundations; but the greateſt Treaſure of any private Man in *Rome* wou'd not diſcharge the Gilding of this Temple in our Days, it amounting to above twelve thouſand Talents: the Pillars were cut out of *Pentelick* Marble, having Length ſuitable to their Thickneſs, and theſe we ſaw at *Athens*; but when they were cut a-new at *Rome* and embelliſh'd, they gain'd not ſo much Beauty, as they loſt in Proportion, being render'd *too taper and ſlender*. Now whoſoever ſhou'd admire the Excellency of the Capitol, and afterwards ſurvey a Gallery in *Domitian*'s Palace, or an Hall, Bath, or the Apartments of his Concubines, what *Epicarmus* wrote of a profuſe Man,

The Magnificent Structure of the Capitol.

Πεντέλικον.

Λάκκοι καὶ λαγόνες.

Οὐ φιλάνθρωπος τὸ γ' ἐσὶ· ἔχεις νόσον, χαίρεις δ' ἐδοὺς.

Thou art not gen'rous, thy Bounty's Vice within,
Thy Gifts thou laviſh'ſt, and glory'ſt in the Sin;

he might readily apply it to *Domitian*, *Thou art neither pious or noble, only pleasing thy self in the Itch of Building, and a Desire, like* Midas, *of converting all into Gold and precious Stones.* And thus much for this matter.

Porsenna *espouses* Tarquin's *Quarrel.*

Tarquin, after the great Battel wherein he lost his Son in an Engagement with *Brutus*, fled to *Clusius*, and sought Aid from *Clara Porsenna*, then the most powerful Prince of *Italy*, and a Person of singular Candour and Generosity, who assur'd him his Assistance, immediately sending his Commands to *Rome*, that they should receive *Tarquin* as their King; and upon the *Romans* Refusal proclaim'd War, and having signify'd the Time and Place where he intended his Assault, approach'd with a great Army. Now *Poplicola* in his absence was chosen Consul a second time, and *Titus Lucretius* his Collegue; but returning to *Rome* with Intentions of appearing more generous than *Porsenna*, built the City *Sigliuria* when *Porsenna* lay encamp'd in the Neighbourhood; and walling it at great expence, there plac'd a Colony of Seven Hundred Men, as being little concern'd at the War: but *Porsenna* making a sharp Assault, oblig'd the Defendants to retire to *Rome*, who had almost in their Entrance admitted the Enemy into the City, had not *Poplicola* by sallying out at the Gate prevented them, and joining Battel by *Tyber* side, oppos'd the Enemy, that

that preſs'd on with their multitude; but at laſt ſinking under his honourable Wounds, was carried out of the Fight. The ſame fortune fell upon *Lucretius*, ſo that the *Romans* being diſmay'd retreated into the City for their ſecurity, and *Rome* was in great hazard of being taken, the Enemy making good their purſuit to the Wooden Bridg, where *Cocles Horatius*, ſeconded by two of the eminenteſt Men in *Rome*, *Hermenius* and *Lucretius*, made head againſt them. (This name he obtain'd from the loſs of one of his Eyes in the Wars; or as others write, from the depreſſure of his Noſe, which cauſing a ſeeming *coalition of his Eye-brows*, made both Eyes appear but as one; and hence they intending to call him *Cyclops*, by a *cadency of the Tongue*, uſually call'd him *Cocles*.) This *Cocles* kept the Bridg, and repuls'd the Enemy, till his own Party broke it down behind, and then in his Armour caſt himſelf into the River, and ſwam to the hither ſide, being wounded upon his Hip with a *Tuſcan* Spear. *Poplicola* admiring his Courage, invited the *Romans* every one to gratify him with a Preſent of as much Proviſions as he ſpent in a day, and afterwards gave him as much Land as he could encircle with a Plough in one day; beſides erected a brazen Statue to his honour in the Temple of *Vulcan*, as a requital for the Lameneſs he contracted

The noble atchievement of Cocles Horatius.

ὀφρῦς συσχεχῦσθαι.

γλώττης ἀλιθαινούσης.

from his Wound. But *Porſenna* laying cloſe Siege to the City, and a Peſtilence raging amongſt the *Romans*, beſides a new Army of the *Tuſcans* making Incurſions into the Country; *Poplicola*, a third time choſen Conſul, deſign'd *without ſallying out* to make his defence; however privately ſtealing out upon the *Tuſcans*, put them to flight, and ſlew five thouſand. Now the Hiſtory of *Mutius* is varioully deliver'd, but this Relation ſhall follow the common reception: he was a Perſon endow'd with every Virtue, but moſt eminent in Warfare; and reſolving to kill *Porſenna*, attir'd himſelf in *Tuſcan* Habit, and uſing the Language came to the Camp, and approaching the Seat where the King ſat amongſt his Nobles, but not of a certainty knowing the King, and yet fearful to enquire, drew out his Sword, and ſtab'd him, who amongſt all made the likelieſt appearance of being a King. *Mutius* was taken in the act, and whilſt under Examination, a Pan of Fire was brought to the King, who intended to ſacrifice: *Mutius* thruſt his right Hand into the Flame, and whilſt it burnt, beheld *Porſenna* with a ſtedfaſt and undaunted Countenance. *Porſenna* admiring the Man, diſmiſs'd him, and return'd his Sword, reaching it from his Seat; "*Mutius* receiv'd it in his left Hand, which "occaſion'd the Name of *Scævola*, i. e. *left-*"*handed*; and ſaid, I have overcome the "terrors

'Ατρεμῶν.

The hazardous attempt of Mutius.

" terrors of *Porſenna*, yet am vanquiſh'd " by his Generoſity, and Gratitude obliges " me to diſcover what no Puniſhment could " extort; and aſſur'd him then, that three hundred *Romans*, all of the ſame Reſolution, lurk'd about his Camp, only waiting for an opportunity; and that he by lot deſtin'd to the Enterpriſe, was not troubled he miſcarry'd in the Succeſs, becauſe he was ſo good a Man, and deſerv'd rather to be a Friend to the *Romans* than an Enemy. To this *Porſenna* gave credit, and thereupon expreſs'd an Inclination to a Truce, not, I preſume, ſo much out of fear of the 300 *Romans*, as an admiration of the *Roman* Courage. All other Writers call this Man *Mutius Scævola*: yet *Athenodorus Sandon*, in a Book wrote to *Octavia*, *Cæſar*'s Siſter, avers he was alſo call'd *Opſigonus*. *Poplicola* not ſo much eſteeming *Porſenna*'s Enmity dangerous to *Rome* as his Friendſhip and Alliance ſerviceable, was induc'd to refer the Controverſy betwixt him and *Tarquin* to his Arbitration, and ſeveral times engag'd to prove *Tarquin* the worſt of Men, and juſtly depriv'd of his Kingdom: But *Tarquin* proudly reply'd, he would admit no Judg, much leſs *Porſenna*, that had revolted from his Confederacy. *Porſenna* reſenting this Anſwer, and miſtruſting the Equity of his Cauſe, together with the Solicitations of his Son *Aruns*, who was earneſt for the *Roman*

Porſenna *makes Peace with the* Romans.

man Intereſt, made a Peace on theſe Conditions, That they ſhould reſign the Field they had taken from the *Tuſcans*, and reſtore all Priſoners, and receive their Fugitives. To confirm the Peace, the *Romans* gave as Hoſtages ten of the Nobility's Sons, and as many Daughters, amongſt which was *Valeria* the Daughter of *Poplicola*.

Upon theſe aſſurances, *Porſenna* ceas'd from all Acts of Hoſtility, and the Virgins went down to the River to bathe, at that part where the Crookedneſs of the Bank embracing the Waters rendred it pleaſant and ſerene; and ſeeing no guard or any coming or going over, were encouraged to ſwim over, notwithſtanding the depth and the violence of the Stream. Some affirm that one of them, by Name *Clælia*, paſſing over on Horſe-back, perſuaded the reſt to follow; but upon their ſafe arrival coming to *Poplicola*, he neither admir'd or approv'd their return, but was concern'd, leſt he ſhould appear leſs faithful than *Porſenna*, and this boldneſs in the Virgins ſhould argue *Treachery in the Romans*; ſo that apprehending them, he ſent them back to *Porſenna*. But *Tarquin*'s Men having Intelligence thereof, laid a ſtrong Ambuſcade on the other ſide for thoſe that conducted them; who skirmiſhing together, *Valeria*, the Daughter of *Poplicola*, ruſh'd through the Enemy and fled, and with the aſſiſtance of

Καπήργημα Ῥωμαίων.

of three of her Retinue made good her Eſcape; whilſt the reſt were dangerouſly hedg'd in by the Soldiers. *Aruns*, *Porſenna*'s Son, upon advertency thereof, haſten'd to their reſcue, and putting the Enemy to flight, deliver'd the *Romans*. When *Porſenna* ſaw the Virgins return'd, and demanding who was the Author and Abetter of the Deſign, and underſtanding *Clælia* to be the Perſon, look'd upon her with a Countenance equally chearful and compaſſionate, and commanding one of his Horſes to be brought ſumptuouſly adorn'd, made her the Preſent. This as an evidence they produce, who affirm that only *Clælia* paſs'd the River on Horſeback; thoſe who deny it, eſteem'd it only as the honour the *Tuſcans* did to her Courage, whoſe Effigies on Horſeback ſtands in the *Via Sacra* as it leads to the *Palatium*, which ſome ſay is the Statue of *Clælia*, others of *Valeria*. *Porſenna* thus reconcil'd to the *Romans*, oblig'd them with a freſh inſtance of his Generoſity, and commanded his Soldiers to depart the Camp only with their Arms; and leaving their Tents wealthy and furniſh'd with Proviſions, he aſſigned them to the *Romans*. Whence it became cuſtomary upon publick ſale of Goods, to cry *Porſenna*'s firſt, thereby to eternize the memory of his kindneſs; and erected his brazen Image by the Senate-houſe, plain, but of antique faſhion. Afterwards

Porſenna's *generoſity to the Daughter of* Poplicola.

wards the *Sabins* making Incurſions upon the *Romans*, *M. Valerius*, Brother to *Poplicola*, was made Conſul, and with him *Poſthumius Tubertus*. *Marcus* through the management of affairs, by the Conduct and Authority of *Poplicola*, obtain'd two great Victories, in the latter of which he ſlew thirteen thouſand *Sabins* without the loſs of one *Roman*, and was honour'd with a Houſe built in the *Palatium* at the publick charge, as an acceſſion to his Triumphs; and whereas the Doors of other Houſes open'd inward into the Houſes, they made this to open outward into the Street, as intimating by this privilege, that he was always ready for the publick Service. The ſame faſhion in their Doors the Greeks (they ſay) had of old, which appears from their Comedies, wherein thoſe that are going out make a noiſe at the Door within, to give notice to thoſe that paſs by or ſtand near the Door, that the opening the Door into the Street might occaſion no ſurpriſal.

Marcus victorious over the Sabins.

The Year after *Poplicola* was made Conſul the fourth time, when a Confederacy of the *Sabins* and *Latins* threatned a War; beſides, a ſuperſtitious Fear o'er-run the City, ariſing from the Womens *miſcarriages of mutilous Births*, and no Conception waiting its due time. *Poplicola* upon the *Sybill*'s inſtructions ſacrificing to *Pluto*, and reſtoring certain Games dedicated to *Apollo*, rendred

Ἐξίκαλον γένεσις.

dred the City chearful, with the aſſurances he had in the Gods, and then prepar'd againſt the menaces of Men. Now there was one *Appius Clauſus* amongſt the *Sabins*, a Man of a great Eſtate and ſtrength of Body, but moſt eminent for the excellency of his Virtue, and the depth of his Reaſon, yet could not (what is uſually the fate of great Men) eſcape the envy of others, which was much occaſioned by his protracting the War, and ſeeming to promote the *Roman* Intereſt, as deſigning to bring them under their Yoke; and knowing how welcome theſe Reports would be receiv'd by the gaping Multitude, and how offenſive they would be to the Army and the Abettors of the War, was afraid to ſtand a Trial; but having a conſiderable aſſiſtance of Friends and Allies, rais'd a Tumult amongſt the *Sabins*, which delay'd the War. Neither was *Poplicola* wanting, not only to underſtand the grounds of the Sedition, but to promote and encreaſe it, and accordingly diſpatch'd *Emiſſaries* with theſe inſtructions to *Clauſus*, That *Poplicola* was aſſur'd of his Goodneſs and Juſtice, and thought it even in bad Men unworthy, eſpecially in him, though injur'd, to ſeek revenge upon his Citizens; yet if he pleas'd for his own ſecurity to leave his Enemies and come to *Rome*, he ſhould be receiv'd both in publick and private, with that honour his Virtue deſerv'd,

Appius Clauſus *deſerts the* Sabin *Cauſe.*

Αὐδὲν ἐπιεικὲς ὁπλίτου.

deſerv'd, or their Grandeur requir'd. *Appius* ſeriouſly weighing thoſe things which *Neceſſity propos'd as advantageous*, and adviſing with his Friends, and they inviting others to the ſame perſuaſion, came to *Rome* with five thouſand Families with their Wives and Children, being a People of a quiet and ſedate Temper. *Poplicola* advertis'd of their approach, receiv'd them with all the kind Offices of a Friend, and enfranchis'd them into the Community, allotting to every one two Acres of Land by the River of *Aniene*, but to *Clauſus* twenty five Acres, and admitted him into the Senate, and made him an Aſſociate in the Government; which he ſo prudently manag'd, that it haſten'd his Preferment, and ſo improv'd his Greatneſs, that his Poſterity the *Claudii* became inferior to no Family in *Rome*.

Βέλτιστα τῇ ἀναγκαίων.

Clauſus *choſen Senator.*

The departure of theſe Men rendred things quiet amongſt the *Sabins*, yet the chief of the Community would not ſuffer them *to ſettle into a Peace*, but reſented that *Clauſus*, what his Preſence could not atchieve, by turning Renegade ſhould obſtruct their revenge upon the *Romans* for all their injuries; and coming with a great Army, ſat down before *Fidenæ*, and plac'd an Ambuſcade of Two thouſand Men near *Rome*, in the obſcure and hollow places, with a deſign that ſome few Horſemen, as ſoonas day, ſhould make Incurſions, commanding

Ἀτρεμῆσαι καὶ ἡσυχάσαι.

manding them upon their Approach to the Town, ſo to retreat, as to draw the Enemy into the Ambuſh; but *Poplicola* ſoon adverti's'd of theſe Deſigns by the *Renegadoes*, diſpos'd his Forces to their reſpective Charges, and *Poſthumius Balbus* his Son-in-Law coming with Three Thouſand Men in the Evening was order'd to take the Hills, under which the Ambuſh lay, there to obſerve their Motions: and the Collegue *Lucretius*, attended with a Body of light and luſty Men, was commanded with his Horſe to aſſail the Van-curriers of the *Sabins*; whilſt he with another Army encompaſs'd the Enemy, and, accidentally a thick Miſt falling, *Poſthumius* early in the morning with Shouts from the Hills aſſail'd the Ambuſcade: *Lucretius* charg'd the light Horſe, and *Poplicola* beſieg'd the Tents; ſo that things aſſur'd a Defeat and Ruin to the *Sabins*; and thoſe that made no Reſiſtance the *Romans* kill'd in their Flight, all their Hopes expiring in their own Deſtruction: for each Army of the *Sabins* preſuming Safety in the other, both ceas'd to fight or keep their Ground; the one quitting the Camp to retire to the Ambuſcade, the Ambuſcade flying to the Camp, met thoſe in as great need of Aſſiſtance, to whom they fled in hopes of a Security: but the nearneſs of the City *Fidenæ* became a Preſervation to ſeveral of the *Sabins*, eſpecially to thoſe that upon

The Sabins *totally vanquiſh'd.*

upon the ſacking deſerted the Camp; but thoſe that could not recover the City, either periſh'd in the Field, or were taken Priſoners. This Victory the *Romans* (tho uſually aſcribing ſuch Succeſs to ſome God) attributed to the Conduct of one Captain; and 'twas obſerv'd to be heard amongſt the Soldiers, that *Poplicola* had deliver'd their Enemies lame and blind, *only not in Chains*, to be diſpatch'd by the Sword: beſides, from the Spoil and Priſoners a great Wealth accru'd to the *Romans*. But *Poplicola* having ended his Triumph, and bequeathing the City to the Prudence of the ſucceeding Conſuls, ſoon dy'd, whoſe Life was led with the Goodneſs and Virtue Mortality wou'd admit: The People, as not having gratify'd his Deſerts when alive, but as in Gratitude ſtill oblig'd, decreed him a publick Interment, every one contributing his *Quadrans* towards the Charge; beſides the Women by a general Conſent in private mourn'd a whole Year with a ſincere Veneration to his Memory. He was bury'd at the Peoples deſire in the Street call'd *Velia*, where his Poſterity had the Honour of Burial; but now none of the Family are there interr'd, but the Body is carry'd thither, and one places a burning Torch under it, and then immediately takes it away, as an Atteſtation of the Deceaſed's Privilege, and his receding from his Honour, and then the Body is remov'd.

μόνον ὐ πεδεδεξας.

Poplicola dyes.

πλαυσιμαῖον.

THE

BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

THE COMPARISON OF POPLICOLA with SOLON.

NOW there appears ſomewhat ſingular in this Parallel, and what has not occur'd in any other of the Lives; as the one to be the Imitator of the other, and the other a Witneſs of his Virtue: ſo that upon the Survey of *Solon*'s Sentence to *Cræſus* applauding *Tellus*'s Happineſs, it ſeems more applicable to *Poplicola*; for *Tellus*, whoſe virtuous Life and dying-well had gain'd him the Name of the happieſt Man, yet was never celebrated in *Solon*'s Poems for a good Man, or that his Children or his Government deſerv'd his Memorial: But *Poplicola*, as his Life was the moſt eminent among the *Romans*, as well for the Greatneſs of his Virtue as his Power, ſo at his Death he was accounted amongſt the greateſt Families; and even in our days the *Poplicolæ*, *Meſalæ*, and *Valerii* for Six Hundred Years acknowledg'd him as the Fountain of their Honour. Beſides, *Tellus*, tho keeping his Order, and fighting like a Valiant Captain, yet was ſlain

Poplicola's *Poſterity of long continuance.*

ſlain by his Enemies; but *Poplicola* (what was more honourable) ſlew his Enemies, and ſaw his Country victorious through his Conduct; and his Honours and Triumphs procur'd him (what was *Solon*'s Ambition) an happy End: and what, as a Reproof to *Mimnermus*, touching the Continuance of Man's Life, he exclaim'd,

Μηδὲ μοι ἄκλαυστος θάνατος μόλοι, ἀλλὰ φίλοισι
Ποιήσαιμι θανὼν ἄλγεα καὶ στοναχάς.

A ſilent unlamented Death I hate,
Let Sighs of Friends and Tears attend my Fate;

atteſted his Happineſs: His Death did not only draw Tears from his Friends and Acquaintance, but became the Object of an univerſal Wiſh and Sorrow through the whole City; for the very Women deplor'd this loſs as of a Son, Brother, or univerſal Father. *Solon* ſaid,

Χρήματα δ' ἱμείρειν μὲ ἔχειν, ἀδίκως δὲ πατάσθαι
Οὐκ ἐθέλειν.

An Eſtate I love, but not unjuſtly got,

leſt Vengeance ſhould purſue the Injuſtice: But *Poplicola*'s Riches were not only the Product of his Juſtice, but his Diſtributions of them to the Poor were the Diſcretion of his

his Charity, ſo that if *Solon* was reputed the wiſeſt Man, we muſt allow *Poplicola* to be the happieſt, for what *Solon* wiſh'd for as the greateſt and moſt perfect Good, that *Poplicola* in its proper uſe enjoy'd to his Death: So that *Poplicola* became as well an Honour to *Solon*, as *Solon* to him, in tranſmitting the exacteſt method of modelling a Commonwealth, and ſtripping the Conſulſhip of its Pride, made it eaſy and pleaſant to the People; he tranſplanted ſeveral Laws into *Rome*, as his impowering the People to elect their Officers, and allowing Offenders the liberty of appealing to the People, as *Solon* did to the Judges. *Poplicola* did not indeed create a new Senate, as *Solon* did, but augmented the old with almoſt a double number. He erected the Office of *Queſtors*; leſt the Conſul, if good, ſhould not have leiſure otherwiſe to attend greater Matters; or if bad, ſhould have any Temptation to Unjuſtice, having the Government and Treaſury in his Hands.

Poplicola *in reality what* Solon *wiſh'd to be.*

The *averſion to Tyranny* was greater in *Poplicola*: for whoſoever endeavour'd an Uſurpation, his Puniſhment by *Solon*'s Law commenc'd only upon Conviction; but *Poplicola* made it Death before a Trial. And tho *Solon* juſtly gloried, that when things without the leaſt Averſion of the Citizens were preſented to his Sovereignty, he refus'd the Offer; yet *Poplicola* merited

Μισοτυραννον.

not less, who finding a Tyrannical Government, made it more popular by not using the Authority he might. But we must allow, that *Solon* knew it before *Poplicola*: for,

Δῆμος μὲν δ' ἂν δειτο σὺν ἡγεμόνεσσιν ἑποίτο,
Μήτε λίην ἀνεθείς, μήτε πεζόμενος.

An even Hand will an even State maintain,
Holding not too loose, nor yet too strait a Rein.

Ἡ χρεῶν ἄνεσις. But the *remission of Debts* was more peculiar to *Solon*, which much strengthened the Citizen's Liberty: for the Law intending a level little avail'd, if the Debts of the Poor prevented that Equality; and where they seem'd chiefly to exercise their Liberty, as *in Debates, Elections, and Administrations of their Offices*, they were over-rul'd by the Rich, yielding themselves to their disposal. But 'tis more extraordinary, that Rebellion attending usually this remission of Debts, yet he apply'd this as a desperate Remedy, and seasonably allay'd their Heats by his Virtue and Esteem, which was above the Infamy or Detraction, that could arise from this Act. The beginning of his Government was more glorious, for he was himself an Original, and follow'd no Example, and without the aid of an Ally did great

Ἐν τῷ δικάζειν, ἄρχειν, καὶ λέγειν.

things by his own Conduct: yet the Death of *Poplicola* was more happy and admired; for *Solon* ſaw the Diſſolution of his own Commonwealth, but *Poplicola* preſerv'd his inviolably till the Civil Wars. *Solon* leaving his Laws engraven in Wood, but deſtitute of a Defender, departed *Athens*; whilſt *Poplicola* remaining in his Magiſtracy eſtabliſh'd the Government: and tho *Solon* was ſenſible of *Piſiſtratus*'s Ambition, yet he was not able to ſuppreſs it, but ſunk under the new eſtabliſh'd Tyranny; whereas *Poplicola* utterly ſubverted and diſſolved a potent Monarchy, ſtrongly ſettled by long continuance; being nothing inferior to *Solon* in Virtue and Diſpoſition, and withal favourably aſſiſted with Power and Fortune to accompliſh his virtuous Deſigns: and as for martial Exploits, *Daimachus Plataeenſis* does not ſo much as attribute the Wars againſt the *Megarenſes* to *Solon*, as is before intimated: But *Poplicola* in great Encounters, both as a private Soldier and Commander, obtain'd the Victory. As to the managery of publick Affairs, *Solon* in a Mimical way, and by a Counterfeit ſhew of madneſs ſollicited the Enterpriſe of *Salamis*; whereas *Poplicola* in the very beginning, nothing daunted at the greateſt Enterpriſes, oppos'd *Tarquin*, detected the Conſpiracy; and being principally concern'd both in

Poplicola *in many reſpects preferable to* Solon.

preventing the Eſcape, and afterwards puniſhing the Traitors; he not only excluded the Tyrants from the City, but fruſtrated likewiſe all their Expectations from thence: who, as in matters of Conflict, Tumult or Oppoſition, he behav'd himſelf with Courage and Reſolution; ſo in peaceable Debates, where Perſuaſion and Condeſcenſion were requiſite, he was more to be commended; *Porſenna*, a terrible and invincible Enemy, by his means being reconciled and made a Friend. Some may perhaps object, that *Solon* recovered *Salamis* for the *Athenians*, which they had loſt; whereas *Poplicola* receded from part of what the *Romans* were preſently poſſeſs'd of: but Judgment is to be made of Actions according to the Times in which they were perform'd. The Conduct of a wiſe Politician is ever ſuted to the preſent poſture of Affairs, who often by foregoing a part ſaves the whole, and by yielding in a ſmall matter ſecures a greater; as *Poplicola*, who by reſtoring what the *Romans* had lately uſurped, ſaved their undoubted Patrimony, and moreover procured the Stores of the Enemy for them, who were very much ſtraitned to ſecure their City: For permitting the Deciſion of the Controverſy to his Adverſary, he not only got the Victory, but what likewiſe he would willingly have given to have

overcome; *Porſenna* putting an end to the War, and leaving them all the Proviſion of his Camp, through a perſuaſion of the Virtue and Gallant Diſpoſition of the *Romans*, which the Conſul had impreſs'd upon him.

THE LIFE OF THEMISTOCLES THE ATHENIAN.

Tranſlated out of the Greek,
By *Edward Brown*, M. D.

THE obſcure Family of *Themiſtocles* gave ſome beginning to his Honour, and made his Glory ſhine the brighter. His Father *Neocles* was none of the moſt ſplendid of *Athens*, but of the Diviſion of *Phrear*, and of the Line of *Leontes*; and by his Mother's ſide, as it is reported, he was Illegitimate.

I am not of the Noble Græcian *Race,*
I'm poor Abrotanon, *and born in* Thrace:
Yet

THEMISTOCLES

Yet 'mong the Greeks *my Fame ſhall never ceaſe,*
For them I brought forth great Themiſtocles.

Yet *Phanias* writes that the Mother of *Themiſtocles* was not of *Thracia* but of *Caria*, and that her Name was not *Abrotanon* but *Euterpe:* And *Neanthes* adds further, that ſhe was of the City of *Halicarnaſſus* in *Caria:* Upon which Conſideration, when the Strangers, and thoſe that were but of the half Blood, or had but one Parent an *Athenian*, were to perform their Exerciſe at *Cynoſarges* (a wreſtling place without the Gates dedicated to *Hercules*, who was alſo under ſome Illegitimacy, and was not one of the great Immortal Gods, but had a Mortal Woman for his Mother) *Themiſtocles* perſuaded divers of the young Noblemen to accompany him, to anoint and exerciſe themſelves together at *Cynoſarges*; in doing which, he ſeemed with ſome Ingenuity to take away the diſtinction between the truly Noble and the Stranger, and between thoſe of the whole and thoſe of the half Blood of *Athens*. However it is certain that he was related to the Houſe of *Licomedes*, for *Simonides* reports that he rebuilt the Chappel of *Phlyes* belonging to that Family, and beautified it with Pictures and other Ornaments, after it had been burnt by the *Perſians*.

Themiſtocles's Policy to ennoble his Birth.

It is confeſs'd by all, that from his Youth he was of an Impetuous Nature, full of Spirit, Apprehenſive, and of a good Underſtanding; ever reſolving to undertake great Actions, and manage publick Affairs. The Vacations and Times of Recreation from his Studies, he ſpent not in Play or in Idleneſs, as other Youths, but would be always inventing or putting in order ſome Oration or Declamation, the ſubject of which was generally the excuſing or accuſing his Companions; ſo that his Maſter would often ſay to him, Boy, thou canſt never be any thing mean or indifferent, but muſt at ſome time or other prove either a moſt Heroick Glorious Bleſſing, or a moſt Deſtructive Plague and Ruin to thy Country. He received very ſlowly and negligently ſuch Inſtructions as were given him to improve his Manners and Behaviour, or to make him skilful in any Pleaſure, or to teach him a gentile or graceful Deportment; but whatever was delivered to him to improve him in Prudence, or in the Management of publick Affairs, he would apprehend immediately, and underſtand it beyond one of his Years, for in ſuch things he confided in his own natural Parts: And therefore afterwards in Diſcourſes of Humanity, the liberal Sciences, and genteel Education, being derided by thoſe who thought themſelves well skilled therein, he was forced to defend himſelf

ſelf ſomewhat arrogantly, ſaying, I underſtand not how to touch a Lute or play upon a Harp; but if a ſmall, mean, obſcure City were committed to my Charge, I know well how to make it Conſiderable, Great and Glorious. Yet notwithſtanding this, *Steſimbrotus* ſays, That *Themiſtocles* was a Hearer of *Anaxagoras*, and that he ſtudied natural Philoſophy under *Meliſſus*; but he muſt needs err in the time, for *Meliſſus* was Commander of the *Samians*, when *Pericles* made War againſt *Samos*; but *Themiſtocles* was much elder than *Pericles*, whereas *Anaxagoras* was very converſant with him. They are therefore rather to be credited, who report, that *Themiſtocles* was an earneſt follower of *Mneſiphilas*, the *Phrearian*, who was neither Orator nor natural Philoſopher, but a Profeſſor of that which was then called Wiſdom, or a Prudence exerciſed in ordering publick Concerns, and an accurate Underſtanding and Judgment in Affairs of State: which Profeſſion being begun by *Solon*, was preſerved ſucceſſively as a Sect of Philoſophy; but thoſe who came afterwards, and mixed it with Pleadings and Diſputes in Law, and transferred the practical part of it to a mere Art of Speaking, and Exerciſe of Words and Terms, were generally call'd Sophiſters. However *Themiſtocles*, when he entred upon Affairs of State, applied himſelf to *Mneſiphilas*.

In

In the firſt motions of his Youth he was not regular nor well poiſed, drawing the lines of his Affairs according to his own natural Fancy, without Reaſon or Inſtruction; and made great alterations in his deſigns on the one hand and on the other; and very often determined for the worſt, as he afterwards confeſs'd, ſaying, Ragged Colts make the beſt Horſes, when it comes to paſs that they are well taught and managed. But thoſe who upon this account do erroneouſly raiſe reports of his being diſinherited by his Father, and that his Mother died for grief of her Son's leudneſs, do certainly moſt falſly calumniate him; and there are divers who relate to the contrary, how that to deter him from dealing in the publick, and to let him ſee how the vulgar behave themſelves towards their Leaders when they have at laſt no further uſe of them, his Father ſhewed him the old Galleys as they lay neglected and forſaken upon the Seaſhore without any care taken of them. Yet it is evident, that early, even in his younger Years, *Themiſtocles* did moſt violently, and with great eagerneſs, apply himſelf to underſtand how to govern and to win Glory and Honour; in which being earneſt to be the firſt, from the very beginning he by this Raſhneſs preſently created to himſelf the hatred of the moſt powerful and chiefeſt in the City, but more eſpecially

of

of *Ariſtides* the Son of *Lyſimachus*, who always oppoſed him; and yet all this great Enmity between them ſeem'd to have but a light beginning, for they both were in love with the fair *Steſilaus* of *Teios*, as *Ariſton* the Philoſopher relates: and from that time they perpetually contended with their Parties and Factions in the Commonwealth; not but that the diſagreeableneſs of their Lives and Manners may ſeem to have encreaſed the difference; for *Ariſtides* was of a mild Nature, good and fair conditioned, and governing all things for the beſt with Juſtice and Security; not for Glory, or the favour of the People. He was often forc'd to oppoſe *Themiſtocles*, and to ſtand up againſt the encreaſe of his Authority, who ſtirr'd up the People to many attempts and brought in great innovations: for it is ſaid that *Themiſtocles* was ſo tranſported with the thoughts of Glory, and ſo inflamed with the deſire of performing great Actions, that altho he were but young when the Battel of *Marathon* was fought againſt the *Perſians*, and the Warlike Conduct of their General *Miltiades* was every where noiſed about, he was taken notice of to be thoughtful, and to go meditating many things alone by himſelf, to paſs the nights without ſleep, and to refuſe his accuſtom'd Meetings and Recreations; and to thoſe who wondred at this change in his manner of living, and demanded

Ariſtides *oppoſes* Themiſtocles.

demanded the reaſon of it, he gave this Anſwer, That the Trophies of *Miltiades* would not let him ſleep; and when others were of Opinion that the Battel of *Marathon* would put an end to the War, *Themiſtocles* thought that it was but the beginning of far greater Conflicts, for which he prepared himſelf continually, for the good of all *Greece*, and exerciſed the City, as one foreſeeing at a great diſtance what was likely to come to paſs. And firſt of all, the *Athenians* being accuſtom'd to diſtribute the Revenue proceeding from the Silver Mine at *Laurion*; he was the only Man that durſt propoſe to the People, that this Diſtribution ſhould ceaſe, and that with the Mony Ships ſhould be built to make War againſt the *Æginetes*, who were the moſt flouriſhing People in all *Greece*, and by the number of their Ships held the Sovereignty of the Sea: and to this *Themiſtocles* did eaſily perſuade them, not by ſtirring them up againſt *Xerxes* or the *Perſians*, who were at a great diſtance, and their coming was very uncertain, and at that time not much to be feared; but by ſeaſonably making uſe of the Emulation, Hatred and Anger of the *Athenians* againſt the *Æginetes*, he induc'd them to theſe Preparations. So that with this Mony an hundred Ships were built, with which they afterwards fought againſt *Xerxes*; and in a ſhort time he cauſed them to deſcend, and

Themiſtocles adviſes that the Revenue of the Silver Mine at Laurion ſhould be employed in building Ships.

and drew the City towards the Sea, with this Advantage, that thoſe who on Land were not a fit match for their Neighbours, with their Ships might be able to free themſelves from the *Perſians*, and become Rulers of *Greece*. So that, as *Plato* ſays, inſtead of making them a ſtanding *Militia*, and ſtout Soldiers that would not give way in Fight, he turned them into Mariners and Seamen toſſed about the Sea, and gave occaſion for this Reproach againſt him, That he took away from the *Athenians* the Spear and the Shield, and bound them to the Bank and the Oar. Theſe things he performed, getting the better of *Miltiades*, who oppoſed him, as *Steſimbrotus* relates: but whether or no he hereby injured the Purity and exact Rule of Government, let thoſe who are more judicious determine. But that the deliverance of *Greece* came at that time from the Sea, and that thoſe Gallies eſtabliſhed the City of *Athens* again after it was deſtroyed; to omit others, *Xerxes* himſelf is a ſufficient Witneſs, who tho his Land Forces were ſtill entire, after he had been worſted at Sea, fled away, and thought himſelf no ways able to encounter them. And it ſeems to me, that he left *Mardonius* behind him, not out of any hopes he could have to bring them into ſubjection, but to hinder the *Greeks* from purſuing him.

He cauſes the City to be built towards the Sea.

Themiſtocles

Themiſtocles is ſaid to be very intent upon heaping up Riches, that he might be the more liberal (for loving to ſacrifice often, and to be ſplendid in his entertainment of Strangers, he ſtood in need of a plentiful Revenue) yet he is accuſed by others to be parſimonious and ſordid to that degree, that he would ſell the Proviſion which was preſented him. He deſired *Philides*, who was a Breeder of Horſes, to give him a Colt, and when he refuſed it, he threaten'd him that in a ſhort time he would turn his Houſe into a Horſe of wood, like the *Trojan* Horſe, intimating thereby that he would ſtir up ſtrife and conteſts between him and thoſe of his own Family and Relations.

He went beyond all men in Ambition and deſire of Honour, and when he was but young and not known in the World, he deſired *Epicles* of *Hermiona*, who had a very good hand at the Lute, and was much eſteemed by the *Athenians*, to come and practiſe at his Houſe, being ambitious and coveting to be Popular, and deſirous that many ſhould enquire after him and frequent his Company. When he came to the *Olympian* Games, and was ſo ſplendid in his Equipage and Entertainments, in his rich Tents and Furniture, that he ſtrove to outdo *Cimon*, he diſpleaſed the *Greeks*, who thought that ſuch Magnificence might be allow'd of in one who was a young Gentleman

man of a great Family; but a great piece of Inſolence in him to carry himſelf thus high who was an Upſtart, and of no conſiderable Fortune. He ſet out a Tragedy at his own Expence, and wan the Prize with his Tragedians, in thoſe times when they purſued thoſe Sports with great Eagerneſs and Ambition, and ſet up a Table of his Victory with this Inſcription; "*Themiſto-* "*cles* the *Phrearian* was at the charge of it, "*Phrynicus* made it, *Adymantus* was Ar- "chon. He was well beloved by the common People, and he would ſalute every particular Citizen by his own Name, and always ſhew himſelf a juſt Judg of Controverſies between private Men; and he ſaid to *Simonides*, a Poet of *Chios*, who deſired ſomething of him, when he was Commander of the Army, that was not reaſonable, *Simonides*, you would be no good Poet if you ſhould go contrary to the due Meaſures and Rules of Poetry, nor ſhould I be a good Magiſtrate, if for Favour or Affection I ſhould go contrary to the Law. And at another time laughing at *Simonides* he told him, That he was a Man of little Judgment to ſpeak againſt the *Corinthians*, who were Inhabitants of a great and beautiful City, and to have his own Picture drawn ſo often, having ſuch an ill Face.

He affects Popularity.

When he came to be great, and had won the Favour of the People, he ſtirred up a Party

He cauſes Ariſtides *to be baniſh'd.*

Party againſt *Ariſtides* that expelled him, and baniſhed him out of the City by their publick Votes. When the King of *Perſia* was coming down into *Greece*, and the *Athenians* were in Conſultation who ſhould be their General, and many withdrew themſelves of their own accord, being terrified with the greatneſs of the Danger; there was one *Epicydes* an Orator, Son to *Euphemides*, a Man who was powerful in Speech and of an eloquent Tongue, but of a faint Heart and a narrow Soul, a mere Slave to Riches; this Man was deſirous of the Command, and was look'd upon to be in a fair way to carry it by the number of Votes: but *Themiſtocles* fearing that, if the Government ſhould fall into ſuch a Man's Hands, all would be loſt, he bought out *Epicydes*; and for a good ſum of Mony cauſed him to deſiſt from his Pretenſions.

When the King of *Perſia* ſent Meſſengers into *Greece*, with a *Greek* Interpreter, to demand Water and Earth as an acknowledgment of their Subjection and Obedience to him, *Themiſtocles* by the conſent of the People ſeiz'd upon the Interpreter, and put him to Death, for preſuming to publiſh the Orders and Decrees of the King of *Perſia* in the *Grecian* Language: and for this he was highly honoured by the *Greeks*; as alſo for what he did to *Arthmius* of *Zelea*, who for bringing Gold from the King of *Perſia* to corrupt

corrupt the *Græcians*, was by an Order from *Themiſtocles* degraded from all Honour, and regiſtred in the Book of Infamy, he, and his Children, and his Poſterity: But that which moſt of all redounded to his Honour, was, that he put an end to all the Civil Wars of *Greece*, compos'd their Differences, and perſuaded them to lay aſide all Enmity during the War with the *Perſians*; and in this great Work *Chileus* the *Arcadian* was very aſſiſting to him.

Having taken upon himſelf the Command of the *Athenian* Forces, he immediately endeavoured to perſuade the Citizens to leave the City, and to embark themſelves upon their Gallies, and to meet with the *Perſians* at a great diſtance from *Greece*: But many being againſt this, he led a great Army joined with the *Lacedæmonians* into *Tempe*; that in ſo narrow a Valley, bounded on each ſide with high Rocks, he might the more eaſily defend the *Theſſalians*, who had not as yet declar'd for the King. But when they return'd without performing any thing, and it was known that not only the *Theſſalians*, but all as far as *Bœotia* had yielded to *Xerxes*; then the *Athenians* more willingly hearkned to the Advice of *Themiſtocles* to fight by Sea, and ſent him with a Fleet to guard the Straits of *Artemiſium*.

He leads an Army into Theſſaly.

When the *Græcian* Fleets were joined, the *Greeks* would have the *Lacedæmonians* to command, and *Eurybiades* to be their Admiral; but the *Athenians*, who ſurpaſſed all the reſt in number of Veſſels, would not condeſcend to come after any other, till *Themiſtocles*, perceiving the danger of this Conteſt, yielded the Command to *Eurybiades*, and got the *Athenians* to ſubmit, extenuating the loſs, by perſuading them, that if in this War they behaved themſelves like Men, the *Græcians* for the future of their own accord would reſtore to them the chief Command. And by this Moderation of his it is evident, that he was the great Author of the Safety of *Greece*; and carried on the *Athenians* to that height of Glory, that they ſurpaſſed their Enemies in Valour, and their Friends and Confederates in Kindneſs and Civility.

The great Perſian Fleet comes in ſight.

As ſoon as the *Perſian* Armada arrived at *Aphetæ*, *Eurybiades* was aſtoniſhed to ſee ſuch a vaſt number of Veſſels before him; and being informed that two hundred more ſail'd about behind the Iſland of *Sciathus*, he immediately determined to retire farther into *Greece*, and to ſail back into ſome part of *Peloponneſus*, where their Land Army and their Fleet might join, for he looked upon the *Perſian* Forces to be altogether Invincible by Sea. But the *Eubeans*, fearing that the *Greeks* would forſake them,

them, and leave them to the mercy of the Enemy, they ſent *Pelagon* to diſcourſe privately with *Themiſtocles*, and with him a good ſum of Mony, which he accepted, and gave it to *Eurybiades*, as *Herodotus* reports. In this Affair none oppoſed him ſo much as *Architeles* Captain of a Galley called the *Powerful*; who having not Mony to ſupply his Seamen made haſt to ſet Sail, but *Themiſtocles* ſo incenſed the *Athenians* againſt him, that they ſet upon him and left him not ſo much as his Supper: at which *Architeles* was much ſurpriz'd, and took it very ill, but *Themiſtocles* immediatly ſent him in a Cheſt a Service of all Proviſions, and at the bottom of it a Talent of Silver, deſiring him to ſup for the preſent, and to provide for his Seamen and Soldiers for the future; if not, he would report it amongſt the *Athenians*, that he had received Mony from the Enemy. Thus *Phanias* the *Lesbian* relates it.

Tho the Fights betwen the *Græcians* and the *Perſians* in the Straits of *Eubœa* were not ſo great in the whole as to make a final Deciſion or Determination of the War; yet the Experience which the *Greeks* learnt hereby was of great Advantage: for thus they effectually underſtood, that neither the number of Ships, their Riches and Ornaments, nor their boaſting Shouts, nor barbarous Songs of Victory, were any ways terri-

ble to Men that dare fight, and were reſolved to come Hand to Hand with their Enemies; theſe things they were to deſpiſe, and to come up cloſe and grapple with their Foes. This the Poet *Pindarus* took notice of, and hath not ill expreſſed it, ſpeaking of the Fight at *Artemiſium*.

To glorious Liberty Athens *did this Day,*
By bold Attempts, a deep Foundation lay.

For Boldneſs is the beginning of Victory.

Artemiſium. *Artemiſium* is above the City of *Eſtiæa* upon the Coaſt of *Eubœa*, which lies open to the North, but over-againſt it is *Olizon*, and a Country which formerly was under *Philoctetes*, where there is a ſmall Temple of *Diana* of the Eaſt, and Trees about it, which are encompaſſed again with Pillars of white Stone; and if you rub them with your Hand, they ſend forth both the Smell and Colour of Saffron: in one of the Pillars theſe Verſes are engraved.

Within theſe Seas, the brave Athenians *ſhew*
Their matchleſs Valour, when they overthrew
The numerous Nations that from Aſia *ſpring,*
And the great Navy of the Perſian *King:*
And Trophies won by ſuch a glorious Fate
To bright Diana *here did conſecrate.*

There

There is a place ſtill to be ſeen upon this Shoar, where in the middle of a great heap of Sand, they take out from the bottom a dark Powder like Aſhes, or ſomething that hath paſſed the Fire; and here they think the Shipwrecks and Bodies of the Dead were burnt. But on the other ſide, as ſoon as News came from *Thermopylæ* to *Artemiſium*, informing them that King *Leonidas* was ſlain, and that *Xerxes* had made himſelf Maſter of all the Paſſages by Land, they returned back into *Greece*, the *Athenians* having the Command of the Rear, the place of Honour and Danger, as thoſe who by their former Actions had teſtified both their Skill and Courage in War.

As *Themiſtocles* ſail'd along the Coaſt, he took notice of the Harbours and fit Places for the Enemies Ships to retire into, and engraved large Letters in ſuch Stones as he found there by chance, as alſo in others which he ſet up on purpoſe near to the Landing places, or where they were to Water. In theſe Inſcriptions he required the *Ionians* to forſake the *Medes*, if it were poſſible, and come over to the *Greeks*, who were their antient Founders and Progenitors, and were now hazarding all for their Liberties; but if this could not be done, then to be a hindrance and diſturbance to the *Perſians* in all their Fights. He hoped that theſe Writings would prevail with the *Ioni-*

He tempts the Ionians to forſake the Perſians.

ans to revolt or raiſe ſome great Diſorders, by cauſing them to be much ſuſpected by the *Perſians*.

Now tho *Xerxes* had already paſſed through *Doris*, and invaded the Country of *Phocis*, and had burnt and deſtroyed the Cities of the *Phocians*, yet the *Greeks* ſent them no relief: and tho the *Athenians* earneſtly deſired them to oppoſe the *Perſians* in *Bœotia*, before they could come into *Attica*, as they themſelves had given aſſiſtance to the *Greeks* by Sea at *Artemiſium*; yet the *Græcians* gave no Ear to their Requeſt, being wholly intent upon *Peloponneſus*, and reſolved to gather all their Forces together within the *Iſthmus*, and to build a Wall from Sea to Sea in that ſtrait neck of Land, which parts the Saronick Bay from the Gulf of *Corinth*. So that the *Athenians* were enraged to ſee themſelves thus betrayed, and at the ſame time afflicted and dejected at their being forſaken by the *Greeks*: To fight alone againſt ſuch a numerous Army was to no purpoſe, and this only Expedient was left them for the preſent, to leave their City, and betake themſelves to their Ships; which the People were very unwilling to hearken to, imagining that it would ſignify little to regard their own Safety, or to deſire Victory, when they had once forſaken the Temples of their Gods, and expoſed the Tombs and Monuments of their

Anceſtors to the Fury of their Enemies. *Themiſtocles* being at a loſs, and not able to draw the People over to his Opinion by any Human Reaſon, he ſet his Machines on Work, as in a Play, and brought in his Divine Revelations, wonderful Signs, Prodigies, Oracles, and myſtical Anſwers of the Gods. The Dragon of *Minerva*, kept in the inward part of the Temple near to her Statue, ſerved him for a Prodigy: For *Themiſtocles* having gained the Prieſts, they gave it out to the People, that the Dragon refuſed to eat, that the Offerings which were ſet before it were found untouched; that at laſt it diſappeared; that the Goddeſs had left the City, and taken her flight before them towards the Sea. He often repeated to them the Oracle which bad them truſt to Walls of Wood, ſhewing them that Walls of Wood could ſignify nothing elſe but Ships, and that the Iſland of *Salamine* was not to be termed miſerable or unhappy, but *Apollo* had given it the Name of Divine, for that it ſhould be one Day very fortunate to the *Greeks*. At length his Opinion prevail'd, and he obtain'd a Decree, that the City ſhould be recommended to the Protection of *Minerva* the Tutelary Goddeſs of the *Athenians*; that they who were of Age to bear Arms ſhould embark; and that all poſſible Care ſhould be taken to ſave the Children, the Women, and the Slaves.

The Athenians *send away their Families to* Trœzena.

This Decree being confirmed, moſt of the *Athenians* removed their Parents, Wives and Children to *Trœzena*, where they were received very courteouſly; and the *Trœzenians* made an Order of Council, that they ſhould be maintain'd at the publick Charge, diſtributing daily two *Oboli* to every one, gave leave to the Children to gather Fruit where they pleaſed, and paid the School-maſters who inſtructed them. This Order was made when *Nicagoras* was Regiſter.

There was no publick Treaſure at that time in *Athens*: But the Senate of *Areopagus* (as *Ariſtotle* ſays) diſtributed to every one that was liſted eight Drachms; which was a great help to the ſetting out of the Fleet. But *Clidemus* aſcribes this to a Stratagem of *Themiſtocles*; who when the *Athenians* went down to the Haven of *Piræa*, ſaid, that the Shield wherein the Head of *Meduſa* was engraven, was taken away from the Statue of *Minerva*: and he being employed to ſearch for it, and ranſacking in all places, found among their Goods great Sums of Mony, which he brought back for the uſe of the Publick; and with this the Soldiers and Seamen were well provided for their Voyage.

The Athenians *embark.*

When the whole City of *Athens* were going on Board, it afforded a Spectacle worthy of Pity and Admiration: For who would not have commiſerated thoſe who were

were to leave their Country, and at the ſame time admired their Courage and Reſolution, to ſee them ſend away their Fathers and Children before them, and not be moved with the Cries and Tears, and laſt embracings of their antient Parents and neareſt Relations, when they paſſed over into the Iſland? But that which moved Compaſſion moſt of all, was, that many old Men by reaſon of their great Age were left behind; and even the tame domeſtick Animals moved ſome pity, running about the Town, clocking, mewing, houling, as deſirous to be carried along with their Maſters that had nouriſhed them: Among which it is reported that *Xantippus* the Father of *Pericles* had a Dog that would not endure to ſtay behind, but leaped into the Sea, and ſwam along by the Galley's ſide, till he came to the Iſland of *Salamine*, where he fainted away and died; and that part of the Iſland in which he was buried is ſtill called the Dog's Grave.

Themiſtocles *recalls* Ariſtides *from baniſhment.*

Among the great Actions of *Themiſtocles*, the return of *Ariſtides* was not the leaſt; for before the War he was oppreſſed by a Faction ſtirred up by *Themiſtocles*, and ſuffered Baniſhment: but now perceiving that the People regretted the abſence of this great Man, and fearing that he might go over to the *Perſians* to revenge himſelf, and thereby ruin the affairs of *Greece*, *Themiſtocles* propoſed a Decree, that thoſe who were

were baniſhed for a time, might return again to give what aſſiſtance they could to the *Græcians*, both by their Counſel and Valour, with the reſt of the *Athenians*.

Eurybiades by reaſon of the Greatneſs of *Sparta* was Admiral of the *Græcian* Fleet, but yet was faint-hearted in time of danger, and willing to weigh Anchor and ſet Sail for the Gulf of *Corinth*, near which the Land Army lay encamped; but *Themiſtocles* violently oppoſed him, upon which happened many remarkable Paſſages: and when *Eurybiades* to blame his impatience told him, That at the *Olympian* Games they that riſe up before the reſt, are laſhed; *Themiſtocles* replyed, And they that are left behind are never crowned. *Eurybiades* lifting up his Staff as if he were going to ſtrike, *Themiſtocles* minding nothing but the Intereſt of *Greece*, cry'd, Strike if you will, but hear what I ſay. *Eurybiades* wondring much at his moderation, deſired him to ſpeak, and *Themiſtocles* hereby brought him to a better underſtanding of his Affairs; but one who ſtood by him told him, that it did not become thoſe who had neither City nor Houſe, nor any thing left to loſe, to perſuade others to relinquiſh their Habitations, and forſake their Countries. To which *Themiſtocles* gave this Reply, We have indeed left our Houſes and our Walls, baſe Fellow, not thinking it fit to become Slaves for the ſake

ſake of thoſe things that have no Life nor Soul; and yet our City is the greateſt of all *Greece*, as conſiſting of two hundred Galleys, which are here to defend you if you pleaſe: but if you run away and betray us, as you did once before, the *Greeks* ſhall ſoon perceive that the *Athenians* will poſſeſs as fair a Country, and as large and free a City as that already loſt. Theſe Expreſſions of *Themiſtocles* made *Eurybiades* ſuſpect, that if he retreated, the *Athenians* would fall off from him. When one of *Eretria* began to oppoſe him, he ſaid, Have you any thing to ſay of War, that are like an * Ink-Fiſh? you have a Sword, but no Heart. Some ſay that while *Themiſtocles* was diſcourſing of theſe things upon the Deck, there was an Owl ſeen flying to the right Hand of the Fleet, which came and ſat upon the top of the Maſt. This happy Omen ſo far diſpoſed the *Greeks* to follow his Advice, that they preſently prepared to fight: yet when the Enemies Fleet was arrived at the Haven of *Phaleris* upon the Coaſts of *Attica*, and with the number of their Ships had ſhadowed all the Shore; and when they ſaw the King himſelf in Perſon come down with his Land Army to the Sea ſide, with thoſe multitudes, and all his Forces united; then the good Counſel of *Themiſtocles* ſoon vaniſhed, and the *Peloponneſians* caſt their Eyes again towards the *Iſthmus*, and took it very

* Τευθὶς, Loligo, Calamar Peſcado. Calamaro, *a Sleeve*, Calamary, *or Ink-Fiſh. It caſts out a yellow Ink. It is an exanguious cartilaginous Fiſh, having no blood, and thought to have no Heart: It is ſaid to have a Sword, becauſe it has a Cartilage in it, which exactly reſembles the Blade of a Rapire.*

ry ill if any one ſpeak againſt their returning home, and reſolving to depart that Night, the Pilots had order what Courſe to ſteer.

Themiſtocles being highly concerned that the *Grecians* ſhould retire, and loſe the advantage of the narrow Seas and ſtrait Paſſages, and ſlip home every one to his own City, conſidered with himſelf and contrived that Stratagem, that was carried on by *Sicinus*. This *Sicinus* was a *Perſian* Captive, but a great Lover of *Themiſtocles*, and Tutor to his Children: upon this occaſion *Themiſtocles* ſent him privately to *Xerxes*, commanding him to tell the King that the Admiral of the *Athenians* having eſpouſed his intereſt, had ſent early to inform him, that the *Greeks* were ready to make their Eſcape, and that he counſelled him to hinder their Flight, to ſet upon them while they were in this confuſion, and at a diſtance from their Land Army; and hereby he might deſtroy all their Forces by Sea. *Xerxes* was very joyful at this Meſſage, and received it as from one who wiſhed all things proſperous to him; and therefore immediately iſſued out Inſtructions to the Commanders of his Ships, that they ſhould preſently ſet out two hundred Sail, to encompaſs all the Iſlands, and encloſe all the Straits and Paſſages, that none of the *Greeks* might eſcape; and to follow with the reſt of

The ſtratagem of Themiſtocles *to force the* Greeks *to fight.*

of their Fleet at better leiſure. This being done, *Ariſtides* the Son of *Lyſimachus* was the firſt Man that perceived it, and went to *Themiſtocles* into his Cabbin; not out of any peculiar Friendſhip, for he had been formerly baniſhed by his means, as hath been related, but to inform him how they were encompaſſed by their Enemies. *Themiſtocles* knowing the generoſity of *Ariſtides*, and being much taken with his Viſit at that time, imparted to him all that he had tranſacted by *Sicinus*, and intreated him, that having great Authority among the *Greeks*, he would now make uſe of it in joining with him to induce them to ſtay, and fight their Enemies in thoſe narrow Seas. *Ariſtides* applauded *Themiſtocles*, and went to the other Commanders and Captains of the Galleys, and encouraged them to engage; yet they did not perfectly aſſent to him, till a Galley of *Tenedos* which revolted from the *Perſians*, whereof *Panætius* was Commander, came into their Fleet, and confirmed the news that all the Straits and Paſſages were beſet: and then their Rage and Fury as well as Neceſſity provoked them all to fight.

Xerxes places himſelf conveniently to ſee the Sea-fight.

As ſoon as it was day, *Xerxes* placed himſelf on high to view his Fleet, and how it was ſet in order. *Phanodemus* ſays, he ſat upon a Promontory above the Temple of *Hercules*, where the Coaſt of *Attica* is ſeparated

ſeparated from the Iſland by a narrow Channel; but *Aceſtodorus* writes, that it was in the Confines of *Megara*, upon thoſe Hills which are called the Horns, where he ſat in a Chariot of Gold, with many Secretaries about him to deſcribe all that was done in the Fight.

When *Themiſtocles* was about to ſacrifice upon the Admiral Galley, there were three very beautiful Captives brought to him, well dreſſed and gloriouſly adorned with rich Veſts of Gold, ſaid to be the Children of *Autarctus* and *Sandauce* Siſter to *Xerxes*. As ſoon as the Prophet *Euphrantides* ſaw them, and obſerved that at the ſame time the Fire blazed out from the Offerings, and caſt forth a more than ordinary bright Flame, and that one ſneezed to the right, which portended ſome fortunate event, he took *Themiſtocles* by the Hand, and ordered that the three Children ſhould be conſecrated and purified for Sacrifice, and offered up as a Vow for Victory to *Bacchus* the Devourer; for hereby the *Greeks* ſhould not only ſave themſelves, but alſo obtain Victory. *Themiſtocles* was much diſturb'd at this ſtrange and terrible Prophecy; but the common People, who in the moſt difficult Conflicts and greateſt Exigencies, hope for relief by abſurd and extravagant means, rather than by any reaſonable way, calling upon *Bacchus* with one voice, led the Captives

Three Children ſacrificed before the Fight.

to

to the Altar, and compelled him to perform the Sacrifice, as the Prophet had commanded. This is reported by *Phanias* the *Lesbian*, a great Philoſopher and Hiſtorian. As to the number of the Enemies Ships, the Poet *Æſchylus* writes in a Tragedy called the *Perſians*, *That to his own knowledg* Xerxes *had a thouſand Ships, of which two hundred and ſeven were extraordinary good Sailers.* The *Athenians* had a hundred and eighty; in every Ship eighteen Men fought upon the Deck, four of whom were Archers, and the reſt well armed.

As *Themiſtocles* had poſſeſſed the moſt advantageous place, ſo with no leſs Conſideration he choſe the beſt time of Fighting; for he would not ſet the Stems of his Gallies againſt the *Perſians*, nor begin the Fight till the time of Day was come, when there conſtantly riſes a bluſtering Wind from without the Bay, which brings in with it a great Sea, and makes a rough Water in the Channel. This was no Inconvenience to the *Græcian* Ships, which were low built and ſtrong, but ſo far hurtful to the *Perſians*, which had high Sterns and lofty Decks, were heavy, and could not eaſily tack, nor feel the Rudder, that it overſet them, or laid their ſides bare to the *Græcians*, who fiercely aſſaulted them, ſtrictly obeying the Orders of *Themiſtocles*, who well underſtood what was moſt for their

Ariamenes *Admiral to* Xerxes.

their advantage: And when *Ariemenes* Admiral to *Xerxes*, a good Man, and by far the braveſt and worthieſt of the King's Brothers, made towards *Themiſtocles*, and having a great Ship, threw Darts and ſhot forth Arrows, as from the Walls of a Caſtle; *Amenias* the *Decelian*, and *Soſicles* the *Peadian*, who ſailed in the ſame Veſſel, bore in and attacked him, and both Ships meeting Stem to Stem and ſtriking together, their ſharp Stems armed with Braſs, pierced through one another's Ships, ſo that they were faſtned together; when *Ariamenes* attempting to board them, *Amenias* and *Soſicles* ran at him with their Pikes, and thruſt him into the Sea: his Body as it floated amongſt other Shipwrecks was known by *Artemiſia*, and carried to *Xerxes*. It is reported that in the middle of the Fight a great Flame ſhined bright in the Air above the City of *Eleuſis*, and that Sounds and Voices were heard through all the Plain of *Thriaſia* as far as the Sea, ſounding like a number of Men that were going to celebrate the Myſteries of *Bacchus*; and that a Miſt ſeemed to riſe from the Place from whence this Sound came, and paſſing forward fell upon the Gallies. Others affirmed that they ſaw Apparitions and Spirits in the ſhape of armed Men, which reached out their Hands from the Iſland of *Ægina* towards the *Grecian* Gallies, and were like the *Æacides*, whoſe aſſiſtance

A Flame in the Air, and ſtrange Sounds and Voices heard during the Fight.

ſiſtance they had implored in their Prayers before the Fight. The firſt Man that took a Ship was *Lycomedes* the *Athenian*, Captain of a Galley, who cut down the Enſigns of Honour, and dedicated them to *Apollo* crowned with Laurel. And as the *Perſians* fought in a narrow Arm of the Sea, and could bring but part of their Fleet to fight, they fell foul of one another; and the *Greeks* hereby equalled them in ſtrength, fought with them till the Evening, forced them back, and obtained ſo clear and celebrated a Victory, as *Simonides* obſerves, that neither *Greek* nor any other Nation, ever by Sea performed ſuch glorious Service.

The Greeks overcome the Medes.

After this Sea-fight *Xerxes* being enraged at his ill Fortune, attempted, by caſting great heaps of Earth and Stones into the Sea, to ſtop up the Channel and to make a Dam, upon which he might lead his Land Forces over into the Iſland of *Salamine*.

Xerxes attempts to ſtop up the Sea.

Themiſtocles being deſirous to know the Opinion of *Ariſtides*, told him, that he intended to ſet Sail for the *Helleſpont*, to break the Bridg of Ships, whereby he might hinder the Retreat of *Xerxes*, and keep *Aſia* within *Europe*; but *Ariſtides* being troubled at his Deſign, gave this reply: We have hitherto fought with an Enemy who hath regarded little elſe but his Pleaſure and Luxury; but if we ſhut him up within *Greece*, and drive him to neceſſity,

Or Canopy of State.

he that is Lord of ſuch great Forces, will no longer ſit quietly with an *Umbrella* of Gold over his Head, looking upon the Fight for his Pleaſure, but in ſuch a ſtrait will attempt all things; he will be reſolute and appear himſelf in Perſon upon all Occaſions, he will ſoon correct his Errors, and ſupply what he has formerly omitted through Remiſsneſs; and will be better adviſed in all things. Therefore it is no ways our Intereſt to take away the Bridg that is already made, but rather to build another if it were poſſible, that he might make his Retreat with the more Expedition. To which *Themiſtocles* anſwered, If this be requiſite, we muſt immediately uſe all Diligence, Art and Induſtry, to rid our ſelves of him as ſoon as may be: And to this purpoſe he found out among the Captives one of the King of *Perſia*'s Eunuchs named *Arnaces*; whom he ſent to the King, to inform him, that the *Greeks* being now Victorious by Sea, had decreed to ſail to the *Helleſpont*, where the Ships were faſtned together, and deſtroy the Bridg; but that *Themiſtocles* being paſſionately concerned for the King, revealed this to him, that he might haſten towards the Aſiatick Seas, and paſs over into his own Dominions: And in the mean time he would cauſe Delays, and hinder the Confederates from purſuing him. *Xerxes* no ſooner heard this, but being very

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ry much terrify'd, retreated out of *Greece* with all ſpeed. The prudent Conduct of *Themiſtocles* and *Ariſtides*, and the advantageous Management of this Affair, was afterwards more fully underſtood at the Battel of *Platæa*; where *Mardonius* with a very ſmall Portion of the Forces of *Xerxes* put the *Greeks* in danger of loſing all. *Xerxes retreats.*

Herodotus writes, that of all the Cities of *Greece Ægina* perform'd the beſt Service in the War; in which alſo all Men yielded to *Themiſtocles*, tho ſome, out of Envy, did it unwillingly; and when they return'd to the Entrance of *Peloponneſus*, where the Soldiers deliver'd their Suffrages, by laying a Stone upon the Altar, to determine who was moſt worthy, every one gave the firſt Vote for himſelf, and the ſecond for *Themiſtocles*. The *Lacedæmonians* carry'd him with them to *Sparta*; where giving the Rewards of Valour to *Eurybiades*, and of Wiſdom and Conduct to *Themiſtocles*, they crown'd him with Olive, gave him Precedency, preſented him with the richeſt Coach in the City, and ſent three hundred young Men to accompany him to the Confines of their Country: and at the next *Olympian* Games, when *Themiſtocles* enter'd the Place where thoſe Exerciſes were perform'd, the Spectators took no further notice of thoſe who ſtrove for Maſtery, but ſpent the whole day in looking upon him, *The Æginetes perform good Service.*

Themiſtocles highly applauded.

ſhewing him to the Strangers, admiring him, and applauding him by clapping their Hands, and all other Expreſſions of Joy; which ſo delighted him, that he confeſſed to his Friends, that he then reaped the Fruit of all his Labours for the *Greeks*: He was in his own Nature a great lover of Honour, as is evident from thoſe things which are recorded of him. When he was choſen Admiral by the *Athenians*, he ended no buſineſs fully, publick nor private, but deferred all till the Day they were to ſet Sail, that diſpatching much buſineſs together, and having to do with all ſorts of Men, he might appear great, and able to perform all things. Viewing the dead Bodies caſt up by the Sea, he perceived Collars and Chains of Gold about them; yet paſſed on, only ſhewing them to a Friend that followed him, ſaying, Take you theſe things, for you are not *Themiſtocles*. He ſaid to *Antiphates*, a young Nobleman who had formerly behaved himſelf haughtily towards him, but now in his Glory obſequiouſly waited upon him; Young Man, we are in the right, and now we do both as we ſhould do. He ſaid that the *Athenians* did not honour him, or admire him, but when they were in danger they ſheltred themſelves under him, as they do in ſtormy foul Weather under a Plane-tree; and when they have fair Weather again, they pull off its

its Leaves and Fruit, and cut down its fairest Branches. A *Seriphian* telling him that he had not obtained this Honour by himself, but by the Greatness and Splendor of his City, he replied, You speak Truth, for I should never have been esteemed if I had been of *Seriphus*; nor would you have come to any thing tho you had been of *Athens*. A Commander of the Army who thought he had performed considerable Service for the *Athenians*, boasting, and comparing his Actions with those of *Themistocles*, he told him that the Day after the Festival reproached the Festival; that upon her day those who were laborious and industrious refreshed themselves, but upon the Festival the Sluggard and Luxurious enjoyed all things: to which the Festival replied, It is true, yet if I had not been before you, you had not been at all; so if *Themistocles* had not been before you, where had you been now? Laughing at his own Son, who was somewhat too bold through the Indulgence and Fondness of his Mother, he told him that he had the most Power of any one in *Greece*; for the *Athenians* command the rest of *Greece*, I command the *Athenians*, your Mother commands me, and you command your Mother. Loving to be singular in all things, when he had Land to sell, he ordered the Cryer to give notice that there were good Neighbours

near it. Of two who made Love to his Daughter he preferred the Virtuous before the Rich, ſaying, he deſired a Man without Riches rather than Riches without a Man, with many ſuch Expreſſions.

He builds the Walls of Athens.

After theſe things he began to build and wall the City of *Athens*, having with Mony corrupted the *Lacedæmonian Ephori*, and perſwaded them not to be againſt it, as *Theopompus* reports; but as moſt relate it, by over-reaching and deceiving them: for being choſen by the Governors of *Athens*, he went to *Sparta*, where the *Lacedæmonians* accuſing him for rebuilding the Walls of the City of *Athens*; and *Poliarchus* being ſent on purpoſe from *Ægina* to plead againſt him, he denied the Fact, bidding them to ſend to *Athens* to ſee whether it were ſo or no; by which delay he got time for the building of the Wall, and ordering the *Athenians* to ſeize upon thoſe who were ſent, and keep them as Hoſtages for him. When the *Lacedæmonians* knew the Truth, they did him no hurt, but hiding their Anger for the preſent, ſent him away.

He fortifies the Haven of Piræa.

After this, conſidering the great Advantage of good Ports, he fortified the Haven of *Pi*[illegible], and joined the whole City to [illegible], ordering the publick Affairs con[illegible] the Judgment of the old Kings of [illegible]; who endeavouring to withdraw [illegible] Subjects from the Sea and Sailing about,

bout, and to accuſtom them to live by Planting and Tilling the Earth, publiſhed the Diſcourſe between *Minerva* and *Neptune*, and how they contended for the Patronage of the *Athenians*, when *Minerva* by ſhewing to the Judges an Olive-Tree, was declared to be their Tutelary Goddeſs: but *Themiſtocles* did not only join the Haven of *Piræa* to the City, as the Poet *Ariſtophanes* obſerves, but he joined the City to the Haven, and the Land to the Sea, which encreaſed the Power of the People againſt the Nobility, the Authority coming into the Hands of Watermen, Mariners and Maſters of Ships; and ordered that the Pulpit built in the Market-place for publick Orations, ſhould be placed towards the Sea, which the thirty Tyrants afterwards turned towards the Land: ſuppoſing that great Power by Sea would give Life and Encouragement to a Popular Government; but that Labourers and Huſbandmen would be leſs offended at the Greatneſs of the Nobility. But *Themiſtocles* had a higher Opinion of Sea Forces.

After the departure of *Xerxes*, when the *Grecian* Fleet was arrived at *Pagaſa*, where they wintered, *Themiſtocles*, in a publick Oration to the People of *Athens*, telling them that he had a deſign to perform ſomething that would be very beneficial and advantageous to the *Athenians*, but that it

was of ſuch a Nature, that it could not be made publick or communicated to the People in general. The *Athenians* ordered him to impart it to *Ariſtides* only; and if he approv'd of it to put it in practice: and when *Themiſtocles* had diſcover'd to him that his Deſign was to burn the *Grecian* Fleet in the Haven of *Pagaſa*; *Ariſtides* coming out to the People, gave this report of the Stratagem contrived by *Themiſtocles*, that there was nothing more advantageous, nor could any thing conduce more to the Proſperity and Grandeur of *Athens* than this, but withal that it would be the moſt unjuſt Action in the World: at which the *Athenians* commanded *Themiſtocles* to deſiſt from his Intention, and to think no further of it.

He propoſes to burn the Grecian *Fleet in the Haven of* Pagaſa.

When the *Lacedæmonians* propoſed at the general Council of the *Amphictyonians*, that the Repreſentatives of thoſe Cities which were not in the League, nor had fought together againſt the *Perſians*, ſhould be excluded out of that Aſſembly; *Themiſtocles* fearing that the *Theſſalians* with thoſe of *Thebes*, *Argos* and others, being thrown out of the Council, the *Lacedæmonians* would become wholly Maſters of the Votes, and act what they pleaſed; he applied himſelf to the Deputies of the Cities, and prevailed with the Members then ſitting to alter their Opinions in this point, remonſtrating to them that there were but one

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and thirty Cities which did partake of the War, and that moſt of theſe alſo were very ſmall; and how intolerable it would be, if the reſt of *Greece* ſhould be excluded, and that the General Council ſhould come to be ruled by two or three great Cities. By this he chiefly incurred the high diſpleaſure and hatred of the *Lacedæmonians*, who afterwards promoted *Cimon* to all Honours, and placed him as an Emulator and Adverſary to *Themiſtocles* in all affairs of State.

He was alſo burdenſome to the Confederates, ſailing about the Iſlands, and collecting Mony from them. *Herodotus* ſays, that requiring Mony of thoſe of the Iſland of *Andros*, he told them, that he had brought with him two Goddeſſes, Perſuaſion and Force; and they anſwered him, that they had alſo two great Goddeſſes which prohibited them from giving him any Mony, Poverty and Impoſſibility. *Timocreon* the *Rhodian* Poet reprehends him ſomewhat bitterly, for being wrought upon by Mony to let thoſe who were baniſhed return, and for betraying one who was his Gueſt and Friend. The Verſes are theſe:

You may the Honour of Pauſanias *raiſe,*
Leutychides, *or elſe* Xantippus *praiſe:*
Of Ariſtides *I'll diſplay the Fame,*
The beſt Man e're from mighty Athens *came.*

The

The falſe dark Deeds of baſe Themiſtocles
Can never the divine Latona *pleaſe:*
His Friend and Gueſt, Timocreon, *for gain,*
A Priſoner here he baſely doth detain.
To get three Talents ſome he does recal,
Baniſhes, murders others, laughs at all;
While with his Bags well fill'd he may carouſe,
And in the Iſthmus *keep a publick Houſe.*
Yet there doth ſuch cold Entertainment give,
His Gueſts oft wiſh him not an hour to live.

But after the Sentence and Baniſhment of *Themiſtocles*, *Timocreon* reviles him more exceſſively and more reproachfully, in a Poem which begins thus:

Muſes, convey the Echo of my Verſe,
And what I write continually rehearſe;
'Tis requiſite that this you ſhould diſperſe
All over Greece, *and through the Univerſe.*

It is reported that when it was put to the queſtion, whether *Timocreon* ſhould be baniſhed for ſiding with the *Perſians*, *Themiſtocles* gave his Vote againſt him; and when *Themiſtocles* was accuſed for treating with the *Medes*, *Timocreon* made theſe Verſes upon him.

Timocreon *now is not the only Man*
Hath ſworn Allegiance to the Perſian.

Others

Others are faulty, nay the greateſt fail,
He's not the only Fox without a Tail.

And when the Citizens of *Athens* began to hearken willingly to thoſe who traduced and reproached him, he was forced to put them in mind of the great Services he had performed, and asked thoſe who were offended with him, whether they were weary with receiving Benefits often from the ſame Perſon, whereby he rendred himſelf more odious: but he more highly incenſed the People, and accumulated their Hatred towards him, when laying the Foundation of the Temple of *Diana*, he named it *Ariſtoboule*, or *Diana* of the beſt Counſel; intimating thereby, that he had given the beſt Counſel not only to the *Athenians* but to all *Greece*. He built this Temple near to his own Houſe, in a Place called *Melita*, where now the Hangmen carry out the Bodies of ſuch as are executed, and throw the Halters and Clothes of thoſe that are ſtrangled or otherwiſe put to death. There is to this day a Statue of *Themiſtocles* in the Temple of *Diana* of the beſt Counſel, which repreſents him to be a Perſon not only of a noble Mind, but alſo of a moſt heroical Aſpect. At length the *Athenians* baniſhed him, making uſe of the Exoſtraciſm to depreſs his great Worth, Eminence and Authority, as they ordinarily did to all thoſe

He builds a Temple, and dedicates it to Diana.

The Exoſtraciſm.

thoſe whom they thought too powerful, or in a capacity to oppreſs them; or by their Greatneſs were become diſproportionable to that Equality which was thought requiſite in a popular Government. For the Exoſtraciſm was inſtituted not ſo much to puniſh the Offender, as to mitigate and pacify the Fury of the Envious, who delighted to depreſs thoſe who were tranſcendent in Eminence and Glory: and by fixing this Diſgrace upon them, they exhaled part of the venomous Rancour of their Minds.

Themiſtocles being baniſhed from *Athens*, while he ſtayed at *Argos* the Trial of *Pauſanias* happened, which gave ſuch Advantage to his Enemies, that *Leobotes* of *Agraula* Son of *Alcmæon* indicted him of Treaſon; the *Spartans* joining with him in the Accuſation.

When *Pauſanias* went about this treaſonable Deſign, he concealed it at firſt from *Themiſtocles*, tho he were his intimate Friend: but when he ſaw him expelled out of the Commonwealth, and how impatiently he took his Baniſhment, he ventured to communicate it to him, and deſired his aſſiſtance, ſhewing him the King of *Perſia*'s Letters, and exaſperating him againſt the *Greeks*, as a curſed and ungrateful People. However *Themiſtocles* immediately rejected the Propoſals of *Pauſanias*, and wholly refuſed to be a Party in the Enterprize, tho he

he never revealed thoſe Diſcourſes, nor diſcovered the Conſpiracy to any Man; either expecting that it would be diſcovered by other means, or hoping that *Pauſanias* would deſiſt from his intentions, ſeeing that he attempted without due conſideration things that were abſurd, dangerous, and that could not be put in practice.

After that *Pauſanias* was put to Death, Letters and Writings being found concerning this matter, which rendred *Themiſtocles* ſuſpected, the *Lacedæmonians* were clamorous againſt him; and the envious *Athenians* accuſed him, when being abſent from *Athens*, he made his defence by Letters, eſpecially againſt the chief Accuſations; and wrote to the *Athenians* in anſwer to the malicious detractions of his Enemies, urging that he who was always ambitious to govern, was never born to ſerve, and ſhould be very unwilling to become a Slave, would never ſell himſelf and his Country to the *Perſians*, the mortal Enemies of the *Greeks*.

Notwithſtanding this the People being perſuaded by his Accuſers, ſent Officers to take him, and bring him away to be tried before the great Council of the *Greeks*; but having timely notice of it, he paſſed over into the Iſland of *Corcyra*, the chief City of the Iſland having received great obligations from him; for being made Judg of a difference between them and the *Corinthians*,

He flies into the Iſland of Corfu.

rinthians, he determin'd the Controverſy, ordering the *Corinthians* to lay down twenty Talents, and that the Town and Iſland of *Leucas* ſhould be equally inhabited by a Colony ſent from both Cities. From thence he fled into *Epirus*, and the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* ſtill purſuing him, he plung'd himſelf into ſuch intricate Difficulties, that he had ſmall Hopes ever to eſcape; for he fled for Refuge to *Admetus* King of the *Moloſſians*, who having formerly made a Requeſt to the *Athenians*, *Themiſtocles* being then in the height of his Authority, had us'd him diſdainfully, and thrown Dirt upon him; which ſo enrag'd the King, that if he could have then laid hold of him, he would have ſufficiently reveng'd himſelf. Yet in this Misfortune, *Themiſtocles* fearing the freſh Hatred of his Neighbours and Fellow-Citizens, more than the former Diſpleaſure of the King, threw himſelf at his Mercy, and became an humble Suppliant to *Admetus* after a peculiar manner, different from the Cuſtom of all other Countries. For holding the young Prince (who was then a Child) in his Arms, he proſtrated himſelf before the King's Houſhold Gods; this being the moſt ſacred and only manner of Supplication among the *Moloſſians*, which was not to be refus'd; and ſome ſay that Queen *Phthia* inform'd *Themiſtocles* of this way of petitioning, and plac'd her young

He flies to Admetus *King of the* Moloſſians.

young Son near to him, before the Figures of their domeſtical Deities: Others ſay that King *Admetus*, that he might be under a religious Obligation not to deliver him up to thoſe who perſecuted him, helped him to act that part, and inſtructed him in this ſolemn Rite. At that time *Epicrates* of *Acharnia* privately conveyed his Wife and Children out of *Athens*, and ſent them hither, for which afterwards *Cimon* condemned him, and put him to Death, as *Steſimbrotus* reports: yet either forgetting this, or making *Themiſtocles* to be little mindful of it, he ſays he ſailed into *Sicily*, and deſired in Marriage the Daughter of *Hieron* Tyrant of *Sicily*, promiſing to bring the *Greeks* under his Power; and *Hieron* refuſing him, he departed from thence into *Aſia*. But this is not probable; for *Theophraſtus* writes in his Hiſtory of Kings, that when *Hieron* ſent Race-Horſes to the *Olympian* Games, and erected a Royal Tent richly furniſhed, *Themiſtocles* made an Oration to the *Greeks*, inciting them to pull down the Tyrant's Tent, and not to ſuffer his Horſes to run. *Thucydides* ſays, that paſſing over Land to the *Ægean* Sea, he took Ship at *Pidna* in the Bay of *Therme*, not being known to any one in the Ship; till being terrified to ſee the Veſſel driven by the Winds near to *Naxus*, which was then beſieged by the *Athenians*, he made himſelf known to the Maſter

He takes Ship at Pidna.

Maſter and Pilot; and ſometimes intreating them, at other times threatning them, that if they went on ſhore he would accuſe them, and induce the *Athenians* to believe, that they did not take him in out of ignorance, but that he had corrupted them with Mony from the beginning, he compelled them to bear off, and ſtand out to Sea, and ſail forward towards the Coaſts of *Aſia*.

A great part of his Eſtate was privately conveyed away by his Friends, and ſent after him by Sea into *Aſia*, beſides which there was diſcovered and confiſcated to the value of fourſcore Talents, as *Theophraſtus* writes. *Theopompus* ſays an hundred: whereas *Themiſtocles* was never worth three Talents before he was concerned in the publick.

When he arrived at *Cuma*, and underſtood that all along the Coaſt there were many laid wait for him, and particularly *Ergoteles* and *Pythodorus* (for the Game was worth the hunting after by ſuch as purſued Gain every where, the King of *Perſia* having offered by publick Proclamation Two hundred Talents to him that ſhould take him) he fled to *Æges* a ſmall City of the *Æolians*, where no one knew him but only his Hoſt *Nicogenes*, who was the richeſt Man in *Æolia*, and well known in the Court of *Perſia*. While *Themiſtocles* lay hid for ſome days in his Houſe, one Night after

after a Sacrifice and a good Supper, *Olbius*, Schoolmaſter to *Nicogenes*'s Children, fell frantick and inſpired, and cried out in Verſe,

This Night inſtructs in myſtick Dreams and Charms,
How t'uſe thy Parts and ever-conquering Arms.

After this *Themiſtocles* dream'd that a Dragon coiled it ſelf up upon his Belly, and creeping up to his Neck, as ſoon as it touched his Face was turned into an Eagle; which ſpread its Wings over him, and took him up, and flew away with him into Countries far remote, where a golden Scepter appeared to him, upon which he reſted himſelf ſecurely, freed from all fear and trouble: And ſoon after *Nicogenes* made uſe of this invention to ſend him away. Themiſtocles's *Dream.*

The barbarous Nations, and amongſt them the *Perſians* eſpecially, are naturally jealous, clowniſh, and moroſe toward their Women, not only to their Wives, but alſo to their Slaves and Concubines, whom they keep ſo ſtrictly that never any one ſees them abroad: even at their Meals they are ſhut up within Doors; and when they take a Journy, they are carried in cloſe Coaches, or put under a little Tent or Covering ſhut cloſe on all ſides, and ſet upon a Waggon.

ſuch a travelling Carriage being prepared for *Themiſtocles*, they overwhelmed him, and hid him in it, and carried him on his Journey; and told thoſe whom they met or diſcourſed with upon the Road, that they carried a young *Grecian* Lady out of *Ionia* to a Noble-man at Court.

Thucydides and *Charon* of *Lampſachus* report, that *Xerxes* being dead, *Themiſtocles* diſcourſed with his Son: but *Ephorus*, *Deinon*, *Clitarchus*, *Heraclides*, and many others write, that he came to *Xerxes*; and tho the Chronological Tables do better agree with the relation of *Thucydides*, yet they are not exactly compiled with that undeniable certainty, that they ſhould be thought to be built upon unſhaken and immovable Foundations.

Comes to Artabanus.

When *Themiſtocles* was come to the critical Point, he applied himſelf firſt to *Artabanus*, Commander of a thouſand Men, telling him, that he was a *Grecian*, and deſired to ſpeak with the King about important Affairs, concerning which the King was extremely ſollicitous. *Artabanus* anſwered him, Stranger, the Laws of Men are different, and ſome eſteem one thing honourable and ſome another; but it is honourable for all Men to obſerve and commend the Laws of their own Country: it is allowable for you *Grecians* to admire Liberty and Equality, but amongſt our many excellent

cellent Laws, we account this the moſt glorious, to honour the King, and to worſhip him, as the Image of that great Deity that preſerves and protects the Univerſe: and if you can accuſtom your ſelf to our Laws, and fall down before the King and worſhip him, you may both ſee him and ſpeak to him; but if your Mind be otherwiſe, you muſt make uſe of others to intercede for you: for it is not the national cuſtom here for the King to give Audience to any one that doth not fall down before him. *Themiſtocles* hearing this, replied, *Artabanus*, I that come hither to encreaſe the Power and Glory of the King, will not only ſubmit my ſelf to his Laws, ſince it hath pleaſed God to raiſe the *Perſian* Empire to this greatneſs, but will alſo cauſe many more to be Worſhippers and Adorers of the King; let not this therefore be an Impediment, why I ſhould not communicate to his Majeſty what I have to impart. *Artabanus* asking him who muſt we tell him that you are? for you ſeem to be no ordinary Perſon; *Themiſtocles* anſwered, No Man muſt be informed of this before the King himſelf. Thus *Phanias* relates it; to which *Eratoſthenes* in his Treatiſe of Riches, adds, That by the means of a Woman of *Eretria*, who was kept by *Artabanus*. he was brought acquainted with him, and obtained this favour from him.

He is brought before Xerxes.

When he was introduced to the King, and had paid his due Reverence to him, he ſtood ſilent, till *Xerxes* commanding the Interpreter to ask him who he was? he replied, I am *Themiſtocles* the *Athenian*, baniſhed and perſecuted by the *Greeks*; I fly to thee for Refuge, mighty Monarch: the Evils I have done to the *Perſians* are eaſily to be forgiven, in conſideration of the many Atchievements perform'd for them, when I hindred the *Grecians* from purſuing the *Medes* after the fatal Battels of *Salamis* and *Platæa*; when having freed my Country, and placed the *Greeks* in ſafety, my Ambition led me on to greater Enterpriſes; in which being ſucceſsful, I gratified the far-extended *Perſian* Empire, and performed ſervices acceptable to the greateſt Prince on Earth: Since which all things having conſpired to augment my preſent Calamities, ſutable to ſuch a condition, I come hither, hoping to receive Mercy from a gracious reconciled Sovereign, who hath laid aſide his Anger, and is no longer mindful of former Evils; humbly imploring you, that taking the *Greeks* for Witneſſes of the ſervices I have done for *Perſia*, you will make uſe of this occaſion to ſhew the World the noblenefs of your Virtue, rather than to fulfil your Wrath, or ſatisfy your Indignation. Hereby you will preſerve an humble Suppliant; if otherwiſe, you deſtroy a Servant

vant of the *Perſians*, and a publick Enemy of the *Greeks*. Beſides this, he related the manner of the Viſion, which he ſaw at *Nicogenes*'s Houſe, and what was directed him by the Oracle of *Dodona*, where *Jupiter* commanded him to go to him that had a Name like his; by which he underſtood, that he was ſent from *Jupiter* to *Xerxes*, ſeeing that they had both the Name of mighty Kings: and he knew no other great ſacred Powers but *Jupiter*, and the *Perſian* Emperor.

The King heard him attentively, and tho he admired his Underſtanding and Courage, gave him no anſwer at that time; but when he was with his intimate Friends, he rejoiced in his great good Fortune, and eſteemed himſelf very happy in this, and prayed to his God, *Arimanius*, that all his Enemies might be ever of the ſame mind with the *Greeks*, to provoke, abuſe, and expel the braveſt Men amongſt them. Then he ſacrificed to the Gods, and preſently fell to drinking; and was ſo well pleaſed, that in the Night, in the middle of his ſleep, he cried out for Joy three times, I have *Themiſtocles* the *Athenian*.

In the morning, *Xerxes* calling together the chief of his Court, had *Themiſtocles* brought before him, who expected no good would come of it, eſpecially when he ſaw the Guards were fiercely ſet againſt him as

ſoon as they knew his Name, and gave him ill Language: and as he came forward towards the King, who was ſet down, and the reſt kept ſilence, paſſing by *Roxanes* a Commander of a thouſand Men, he heard him ſigh and whiſper ſoftly to him without ſtirring out of his place, You ſubtile *Greek* Serpent, the King's good Genius hath brought thee hither. Yet when he came into the Preſence, and fell down, the King ſaluted him, and ſpake to him kindly, telling him, he was was now indebted to him two hundred Talents; for it was juſt and reaſonable, that he ſhould receive the Reward which was propoſed to whoſoever ſhould bring *Themiſtocles*: and promiſing much more, and encouraging him, he commanded him to ſpeak freely what he would concerning the Affairs of *Greece*. *Themiſtocles* replied, that a Man's Diſcourſe was like to a rich *Perſian* Carpet variouſly wrought and figured, the beautiful Images and proper Figures of which are beſt repreſented when they are clearly and fairly opened; but when they are contracted and folded up, they are obſcured and loſt: and therefore he deſired time to learn the Language perfectly, in which he was to expreſs his Mind, and unfold his ſecret Services. The King being pleaſed with the Compariſon, and bidding him take what time he would, he deſired a Year, in which time having

He learnt the Perſian *Language.*

having learnt the *Perſian* Language ſufficiently, he ſpake with the King by himſelf without the help of an Interpreter: And thoſe who were at a diſtance, thought that he diſcourſed only about the Affairs of *Greece*. But there happening at the ſame time great alterations at Court, and removals of the King's Favourites, he drew upon himſelf the envy of the great ones; who imagined, that he who had this great liberty might take the boldneſs to ſpeak many things concerning them: For the Favours ſhewn to other Strangers were nothing in compariſon of the Honours conferred on him; the King inviting him to partake of his own Paſtimes and Recreations both at home and abroad, carrying him with him a Hunting; and made him his intimate ſo far, that he permitted him not only to come into the Preſence of the Queen Mother, but alſo to wait upon her often, and converſe familiarly with her: And beſides this, he heard the Diſcourſes of the Magicians, by the King's eſpecial Command; and was inſtructed in the ſecret Philoſophy and Magick of the *Perſians*.

When *Demaratus* the *Lacedæmonian*, being ordered by the King to ask whatſoever he pleaſed, and it ſhould immediately be granted him, deſired the Royal Diadem, and that being lifted up on high he might make his publick Entrance, and be carried

in ſtate through the City of *Sardis* with the Imperial Crown of *Perſia* upon his Head, after the manner of Kings; *Mithropauſtes*, Nephew to *Xerxes*, taking him by the hand, told him that he had no Brains for the Royal Diadem to cover; and if *Jupiter* ſhould give him his Lightning and Thunder, he would be ne'er the more *Jupiter* for that. The King alſo repulſed him with ſcorn and anger, reſolving never to be reconciled to him, but to be inexorable to all Supplications on his behalf; yet *Themiſtocles* pacified him, and prevailed with him to forgive him. And it is reported that the ſucceeding Kings, in whoſe Reigns there was a greater communication between the *Greeks* and *Perſians* than formerly, when they invited any conſiderable *Grecian* into their Service, to encourage him, they would ſignify to him by Letters, that he ſhould be as great with them as *Themiſtocles* was with *Xerxes*. They relate alſo how *Themiſtocles* when he was in great Proſperity, and courted by many, ſeeing himſelf ſplendidly ſerved at his Table, he turned to his Children and ſaid, Children, we had been undone if we had not been undone. Moſt Writers ſay, that he had three Cities given him, *Magneſia*, *Myus*, and *Lampſacus*, to maintain him in Bread, Meat and Wine. *Neanthes* of *Cyzicus* and *Phanias* add two more, the City of *Percotes* to provide him with

with Clothes, and *Palæscepsis* with Bedding and Furniture for his Houſe.

As he went down towards the Sea-ſide to provide againſt the attempts and practices of the *Greeks*, a *Perſian*, whoſe name was *Epixyes*, Governor of the upper *Phrygia*, laid wait to kill him; having for that purpoſe provided a long time before a crew of *Piſidian* Murderers, who were to ſet upon him when he came to reſide in a City that is called *Lyon's-head*. But *Themiſtocles* ſleeping in the middle of the Day, the Mother of the Gods appeared to him in a Dream, and ſaid unto him, *Themiſtocles*, never come at the *Lyon's-head*, for fear you fall into the Lyon's Jaws; for this advice I expect, that your Daughter *Mneſiptolema* ſhould be my Servant. *Themiſtocles* was much aſtoniſhed, and when he had poured forth his Prayers, and made his Vows to the Goddeſs, he left the great Road, and taking a compaſs about, went another way, changing his intended ſtation to avoid that Place, and at Night took up his reſt in the Fields; but one of the Sumpter-horſes which carried part of the Furniture for his Tent, having fallen that day into a River, his Servants ſpread out the Tapeſtry which was wet, and hanged it up to dry. In the mean time the *Piſidians* made towards them with their Swords drawn, and not diſcerning exactly by the Moon what it

The Mother of the Gods appears to him.

was

was that was ſtretched out to be dried, they thought it was the Tent of *Themiſtocles*, and that they ſhould find him reſting himſelf within it; but when they came nigh, and lifted up the Hangings, thoſe who watched there fell upon them and took them. *Themiſtocles* having eſcaped this great danger, was in admiration of the goodneſs of the Goddeſs that appeared to him; and in memory of it he built a Temple in the City of *Magneſia*, which he dedicated to *Cybele Dindymene* Mother of the Gods, wherein he conſecrated and devoted his Daughter *Mneſiptolema* unto her ſervice.

When he came to *Sardis*, he viſited the Temples of the Gods; and obſerving at his leiſure their Buildings, Ornaments, and the number of their Offerings, he ſaw in the Temple of the Mother of the Gods the Statue of a Virgin in Braſs two Cubits high, called the Water-bringer, or ſhe that brought the Water back again into its right Channel. *Themiſtocles* had cauſed this to be made and ſet up when he was Surveyor of the *Aqueducts* at *Athens*, out of the Fines and Forfeitures of thoſe, whom he had diſcovered to have taken away the Water, or to have turned it out of its due courſe, by other Pipes fitted for their private uſe: And whether he had ſome regret to ſee this fair Image in Captivity, and the Statue of

a *Grecian* Virgin kept Priſoner in *Aſia*; or whether he was deſirous to let the *Athenians* ſee in what great Credit he was with the King, and what Authority he had in all the *Perſian* affairs, he entred into diſcourſe with the Governor of *Lydia*, to perſuade him to ſend this Statue back to *Athens*; which ſo enraged the *Perſian* Officer, that he told him he would write the King word of it. *Themiſtocles* being affrighted hereat, got acceſs to his Wives and Concubines, whom he gained with Mony, and by their means mitigated the fury of the Governor; and afterwards carried himſelf more reſervedly and circumſpectly, fearing the envy of the *Perſians*, and gave over travelling about *Aſia*, and lived quietly in his own Houſe in *Magneſia*, where for a long time he paſſed his Days in great ſecurity, as *Theopompus* writes; being courted by all, and preſented with rich Gifts, and honoured equally with the greateſt Perſons in the *Perſian* Empire: the King at that time not minding his concerns with *Greece*, being inceſſantly buſied about the affairs of the upper Provinces.

But when *Ægypt* revolted, being aſſiſted by the *Athenians*, and the *Grecian* Galleys roved about as far as *Cyprus* and *Cilicia*, and *Cimon* had made himſelf Maſter of the Seas, the King turned his thoughts, and bending his mind chiefly to reſiſt the *Grecians*,

ans, and to hinder their increaſing Power againſt him, raiſed Forces, ſent out Commanders, and diſpatched Meſſengers to *Themiſtocles* at *Magneſia*, to put him in mind of his Promiſe, and to incenſe him and irritate him againſt the *Greeks*. Yet this did not increaſe his hatred, nor exaſperate him againſt the *Athenians*; neither was he any ways elevated with the thoughts of the Honour and powerful Command he was to have in this War: but either imagining this Undertaking could not proſperouſly be carried on, nor the King eaſily compaſs his Deſigns, the *Greeks* having at that time great Commanders, and amongſt them *Cimon* wonderfully ſucceſsful in the affairs of *Greece*; or chiefly being aſhamed to ſully the Glory of his former great Actions, and of his many Victories and Trophies, he determined to put a concluſion to his Days ſutable to his former great Deeds, and to make an End agreeable to the whole courſe of his Life. He ſacrificed to the Gods, and invited his Friends; and having kindly entertained them, and ſhaked hands with them, he drank Bulls Blood, as the general Report goes: but ſome ſay he took Poiſon, which diſpatched him in a ſhort time, and ended his days in the City of *Magneſia*, having lived ſixty five years, moſt of which he had ſpent in the State and in the Wars, in governing of Countries and commanding of Armies.

He drinks Bulls Blood.

Armies. The King being informed of the cauſe and manner of his Death, admired him more than ever, and continued to ſhew kindneſs to his Friends and Relations.

Themiſtocles left three Sons by *Archippa* Daughter to *Lyſander* of *Alopece*; *Archeptolis*, *Polyeuctus*, and *Cleophantus*. *Plato* the Philoſopher mentions the latter as a moſt excellent Horſe-man; but relates nothing elſe of him worthy of memory: Of his eldeſt Sons *Neocles* and *Diocles*, *Neocles* died when he was young by the bite of a Horſe, and *Diocles* was adopted by his Grandfather *Lyſander* to be his Heir. He had many Daughters, of which *Mneſiptolema*, whom he had by a ſecond Marriage, was Wife to *Archeptolis*, her Brother-in-law by another Mother; *Italia* was married to *Panthides* of the Iſland of *Scio*; *Sybaris* to *Nicomedes* the *Athenian*. After the Death of *Themiſtocles*, his Nephew *Phraſicles* ſet ſail for *Magneſia*, and married his Daughter *Nicomachia*, receiving her from the hands of her Brothers; and brought up her Siſter *Aſia*, the youngeſt of all the Children.

His Tomb at Magneſia.

The *Magneſians* poſſeſs the ſplendid Sepulchre of *Themiſtocles*, placed in the middle of their great Piazza: and it is not worth the taking notice of what *Andocides* writes to his Friends, concerning the Reliques of *Themiſtocles*;

Themiſtocles; how the *Athenians* robbed his Tomb, and threw his Aſhes into the Air: for he feigns this to exaſperate the Nobility againſt the People, and there is no Man living but knows that *Phraſicles* is miſtaken in his Hiſtory, where he brings in *Neocles* and *Demopolis*, for the Sons of *Themiſtocles* to incite or move compaſſion, as if he were writing of a Tragedy. Yet *Diodorus* the Coſmographer writes in his Book of Sepulchres, but by conjecture rather than of his certain knowledg, that near to the Haven of *Piræa*, where the Land runs out like an Elbow from the Promontory of *Alcimus*, and when you have doubled the Cape and paſſed inward where the Sea is always calm, there is a vaſt Foundation, and upon this the Tomb of *Themiſtocles* in the ſhape of an Altar; and *Plato* the *Comedian* ſeems to confirm this in theſe Verſes.

Thy Tomb is fairly placed on the Strand,
Where Merchants from all Parts may paſs or land;
Where Ships from every quarter come in ſight,
And may engage in many a bloody Fight:
So that thy Aſhes placed on the Shore,
Both Sea and Land may honour and adore.

Divers Honours alſo and Privileges were granted to the Kindred of *Themiſtocles* at

at *Magneſia*, which were obſerved down to our times; and another *Themiſtocles* of *Athens* enjoyed them, with whom I had a particular Acquaintance and Friendſhip in the Houſe of *Ammonius* the Philoſopher.

The End of Themiſtocles's *Life.*

THE

THE LIFE OF F. CAMILLUS.

BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

Engliſhed from the Greek,
By *Mich. Payne*, Trin. Coll. *Cant.* Soc.

AMong the many remarkable things that are related of *Furius Camillus*, this above all ſeems moſt ſingular and ſtrange, that he who for the moſt part was in the higheſt Commands, and had performed the greateſt Actions, was five times choſen Dictator, triumph'd four times, and was ſtiled a *Second Founder* of *Rome*, yet never was ſo much as once Conſul. The reaſon whereof was the ſtate and temper of the then Commonwealth; for the People being at diſſenſion with the Senate, ſtifly refuſed to return Conſuls, but in their ſtead elected other

Furius Camillus

Vandrebanc fe.

other Magiſtrates called *Military Tribunes*, who tho they acted every thing with full Conſular Power and Authority, yet their Government was leſs grievous to the People, by reaſon they were more in number: For to have the management of Affairs entruſted in the Hands of ſix Perſons rather than two, was ſome eaſe and ſatisfaction to thoſe who could not endure the Dominion of a *few*. This was the Condition of the Times when *Camillus* flouriſh'd in the height of his Actions and Glory; and altho the Government in the mean time had often proceeded to Conſular Elections, yet he could never perſuade himſelf to be Conſul, againſt the Good-will and Inclination of the People. In all other his Adminiſtrations, which were many and various, he ſo behaved himſelf, that when he was alone in Authority, his Power was exerciſed as in common, but the Honour of all Actions redounded intirely to himſelf, even when in joint Commiſſion with others; the reaſon of the former was his Moderation, commanding without Pride or Inſolence; of the latter, his great Judgment and Wiſdom, wherein without queſtion he excelled all others. And whereas the Houſe of the *Furii* was not at that time of any conſiderable Quality, he was the firſt that raiſed himſelf to Honour, ſerving under *Poſthumius Tubertus*, Dictator, in the great Battel

againſt the *Æques* and *Volſces*. For riding out from the reſt of the Army, and in the charge receiving a Wound in his Thigh, he for all that gave not over the Fight, but plucking out the Dart that ſtuck cloſe in the Wound, and engaging with the braveſt of the Enemy, he put them to Flight: for which Action, among other Rewards beſtowed on him, he was created Cenſor, an Office in thoſe Days of great Eſteem and Authority. During his Cenſorſhip one very good Act of his is recorded, that whereas the Wars had made many Widows, he obliged ſuch as had no Wives, ſome by fair perſuaſion, others by threatning to ſet Fines on their Heads, to take them in Marriage. Another neceſſary one, was cauſing Orphans to be rated, who before were exempted from Taxes; the frequent and chargeable Wars requiring more than ordinary expences to maintain them. But that which pinched them moſt was the Siege of *Veii* (ſome call them *Venetani*.) This was the head City of *Tuſcany*, not inferior to *Rome*, either in number of Arms or multitude of Soldiers; inſomuch that preſuming on her Wealth and Magnificence, and priding her ſelf in the variety of Pleaſures ſhe enjoyed, ſhe had fought many a fair Battel with the *Romans*, contending for Glory and Empire. But now they had quitted their former Ambition, having been weakned and brought low

Camillus *made Cenſor.*

The Siege of Veii.

low in many notable Encounters; ſo that having fortified themſelves with high and ſtrong Walls, and furniſhed the City with all ſorts of Weapons offenſive and defenſive, as likewiſe with Corn and all manner of Proviſions, they chearfully endured the Siege, which tho tedious to them, was no leſs troubleſom and vexatious to the Beſiegers. For the *Romans* having never been accuſtomed to lie long abroad in the heat of Summer, and conſtantly to winter at home, they were then firſt compelled by the Tribunes to build Forts and Gariſons in the Enemies Country; and raiſing ſtrong Works about their Camp, to join Winter and Summer together. And now the ſeventh Year of the War drawing to an end, the Commanders began to be ſuſpected as too ſlow and remiſs in driving on the Siege, inſomuch that they were diſcharged, and others choſen for the War, among whom was *Camillus*, then ſecond time Tribune. But at preſent he had no hand in the Siege, his lot being to make War upon the *Faliſces* and *Capenates*; who taking advantage of the *Romans* being buſied on all hands, had much ſpoiled their Country, and through all the *Tuſcan* War given them ſore Diverſions, but were now reduced by *Camillus*, and with great loſſes ſhut up within their Walls.

The ſtrange accident of the Alban *Lake.*

And now in the very heat of the War an accident happened to the *Alban* Lake, no leſs wonderful than the moſt incredible things that are reported; and by reaſon no viſible Cauſe could be aſſigned, or any natural Beginning whereto to aſcribe it, it became Matter of great amazement. It was the beginning of *Autumn*, and the Summer before had neither been very rainy, nor in appearance over troubled with Southern Winds; and of the many Lakes, Brooks, and Springs of all ſorts wherein *Italy* abounds, ſome were wholly dried up, others drew very little Water with them. But all the Rivers, as they conſtantly uſed in Summer, ran in a very low and hollow Channel. But the *Alban* Lake, that is fed by no other Waters but its own, being compaſſed about with fruitful Mountains, without any Cauſe, unleſs it were Divine, began viſibly to riſe and ſwell, increaſing to the Feet of the Mountains, and by degrees reaching to the very tops of them, and all this without any violent toſſing, or agitation of its Waves. At firſt it was the wonder of Shepherds and Herdſmen; but when the Earth, which like a great Dam held up the Lake from falling into the lower Grounds, through the quantity and weight of Water was broken down, and that in a violent ſtream it ran through the plow'd Fields and Plantations, to diſcharge it ſelf into the Sea, it did not only

ſtrike

ſtrike Terror into the *Romans*, but was thought by all the Inhabitants of *Italy* to portend ſome extraordinary Events. But the greateſt talk of it was in the Camp that beſieged *Veii*, when once this accident of the Lake came to be known among them; and as in long Sieges it is uſual for Parties of both ſides to meet and converſe with one another, it happen'd that a *Roman* had gained much confidence and familiarity with one of the beſieged, a Man well verſed in antient Learning, and who had the Reputation of more than ordinary skill in Divination. The *Roman* obſerving him to be overjoy'd at the Story of the Lake, and to mock at the Siege, told him this was not the only Prodigy that of late had happened to the *Romans*, but that others more wonderful than this had befallen them, which he was willing to communicate to him, that he might the better provide for his private Affairs in theſe publick Diſtempers. The Man greedily embrac'd the motion, expecting to hear ſome wonderful Secrets: but when by little and little he had drill'd him on in Diſcourſe, and inſenſibly drawn him a good way from the Gates of the City, he ſnatched him up by the middle, being ſtronger than he, and by the aſſiſtance of others that came running from the Camp, ſeized and delivered him to the Commanders. The Man reduced to this neceſſity,

A ſubtile fetch of a Roman *Soldier.*

and knowing that Deſtiny is not to be avoided, diſcover'd to them the ſecret Counſels of his Country; that it was not poſſible the City ſhould be taken, until the *Alban* Lake, which now broke forth and had found out new Paſſages, was drawn back from that Courſe, and ſo diverted, that it could not mingle with the Sea. The Senate having heard and deliberated of the Matter, decreed to ſend to *Delphos* to ask Counſel of that God: the Meſſengers were Perſons of the greateſt Quality, *Coſſus Licinius*, *Valerius Potitus*, and *Fabius Ambuſtus*; who having made their Voyage by Sea, and conſulted the God, returned with other Anſwers, particularly, that there had been a neglect of ſome of their Country Rites relating to the *Latin* Feaſts. As for the *Alban* Water, the Oracle commanded, that if it was poſſible, they ſhould draw it from the Sea, and ſhut it up in its antient Bounds; but if that was not to be done, they ſhould bring it down into Ditches and Trenches into the lower Grounds, and ſo dry it up. Which Meſſage being delivered, the Prieſts performed what related to the Sacrifices, and the People went to work, and turned the Water.

Ambaſſadors ſent to Delphos.

And now the Senate in the Tenth Year of the War, taking away all other Commands, created *Camillus* Dictator, who choſe *Cornelius Scipio* for his General of Horſe;

Horſe; and in the firſt place he made Vows unto the Gods, that if they would grant a happy concluſion of that War, he would celebrate to their Honour the *great Sports*, and dedicate a Temple to the Goddeſs whom the *Romans* call *Matuta the Mother*. But from the Ceremonies which are uſed, one would verily think ſhe was *Leucothea*; for leading a Servant-maid into the ſecret part of the Temple, they there buffet her, and then drive her out again: and they embrace their Brother's Children more than their own; and in the matter of Sacrifices uſe the ſame Ceremonies as to *Bacchus* his Nurſes, and what is cuſtomary in the ſad caſe of *Ino* in remembrance of the Concubine. *Camillus* having made theſe Vows, marched into the Country of the *Faliſces*, and in a great Battel overthrew them and the *Capenates* their Confederates. Afterwards he turned to the Siege of *Veii*, and finding that to take it by Aſſault would prove a difficult and hazardous Attempt, he cut Mines under Ground, the Earth about the City being eaſy to break up, and allowing as much depth as would carry on the Works without being diſcovered by the Enemy. This Deſign going on in a hopeful way, he without gave Aſſaults to the Enemy to divert them about the Walls, whilſt they that worked under Ground in the Mines were inſenſibly, with-

The Continuation of the Siege of Veii.

out being perceived, got within the Caſtle, under the Temple of *Juno*, which was the greateſt and moſt celebrated in all the City. It is reported that the Prince of the *Tuſcans* was at that very time at his Devotions, and that the Prieſt after he had looked into the Entrails of the Beaſt, ſhould cry out with a loud Voice, That the Gods would give the Victory to thoſe that ſhould finiſh thoſe Sacrifices: And that the *Romans* who were in the Mines hearing the Words, immediately pull'd down the Floor, and aſcending with noiſe and claſhing of Weapons frighted away the Enemy, and ſnatching up the Entrails carried them to *Camillus*. But this may look like a Fable. The City being taken by Storm, and the Soldiers buſied in pillaging and gathering an infinite quantity of Riches and Spoil, *Camillus* from the high Tower viewing what was done, at firſt wept for pity; and when they that were by congratulated his good Succeſs, he lift up his Hands to Heaven, and broke out into this Prayer. *O moſt mighty* Jupiter, *and ye Gods that are Judges of good and evil Actions; Ye know that not without juſt Cauſe, but conſtrained by neceſſity, we have been forced to revenge our ſelves on the City of our unrighteous and implacable Enemies. But if in the viciſſitude of things, there be any Calamity due, to countervail this great Felicity, I beg that it may be diverted*

verted from the City and Army of the Romans, *and with as little hurt as may be, fall upon my own Head.* Having ſaid theſe words, and juſt turning about (as the cuſtom of the *Romans* is to turn to the right when they worſhip or pray) he fell flat to the Ground, to the aſtoniſhment of all that were preſent. But recovering himſelf preſently from the fall, he told them, that it had ſucceeded to his wiſh, a ſmall miſchance in recompence of the greateſt good fortune.

Having ſacked the City, he reſolved, according as he had vowed, to carry *Juno*'s Image unto *Rome*; and the Workmen being ready for that purpoſe, he ſacrificed to the Goddeſs, and made his Supplications, that ſhe would be pleaſed to accept of their devotion toward her, and graciouſly vouchſafe to accept of a Place among the Gods that preſided at *Rome*: They ſay, that the Statue anſwered in a low voice, *that ſhe was ready and willing to go. Livy* writes, that in praying, *Camillus* touched the Goddeſs, and invited her; and that ſome of the ſtanders by cryed out, *that ſhe was willing.* They who ſtickle moſt for this Miracle, and endeavour to defend it, have the wonderful Fortune of that City on their ſides, which from a ſmall and contemptible beginning, attained to ſuch Greatneſs and Power as it could never have done, without

out thoſe many and great manifeſtations of God upon all occaſions appearing for it. Beſides, they produce other Wonders of the like nature, as the often ſweating of Statues, and that they have ſometimes been heard to groan; as likewiſe the turning aſide of ſome, and nodding and approving of others, as many of the Antients have reported: and we our ſelves could relate divers wonderful things which we have heard from men of our own time, which are not lightly to be rejected. But to give too eaſy credit to ſuch things, or wholly to disbelieve them, is equally dangerous, by reaſon of human infirmity, which hath no bounds or command of it ſelf, but is ſometimes carried to ſuperſtition and dotage, otherwhile to the contempt and neglect of all Religion. But moderation is the beſt, and to do nothing too much. But *Camillus*, whether puffed up with the greatneſs of the Action, to have won a City that was competitor with *Rome*, and had held out a ten years ſiege, or exalted with the flattery of thoſe that were about him, aſſumed to himſelf more than became a civil and legal Magiſtrate. Among other things was the pride and haughtineſs of his Triumph, driving through *Rome* in a Chariot drawn with four White Horſes, no General either before or ſince having done the like; for the *Romans* eſteem that carriage to be ſacred and

Camillus's *deportment upon the ſacking of* Veii, *diſtaſtful to the* Romans.

and peculiar only to the King and Father of the Gods. This alienated the hearts of the Citizens from him, who were not accuſtomed to ſuch Pomp and Bravery.

The ſecond Pique they had againſt him, was his oppoſing the Law by which the City was to be divided; for the Tribunes of the People propos'd a Law, that the People and Senate ſhould be divided into two Parts, one of which ſhould remain at home, the other as the lot ſhould give it remove to the new taken City. By which means they ſhould not only have much more Room, but by the advantage of two great and fair Cities be better able to maintain their Territories, and the reſt of their plentiful Fortunes. The People therefore, who were now grown rich and numerous, greedily embraced it, and in great Crouds began to tumult in the publick Courts, demanding to have it put to the Vote. But the Senate and ableſt Citizens judging the Proceedings of the Tribunes to tend rather to the deſtruction than diviſion of *Rome*, yet unable to bear up againſt it themſelves, flew to *Camillus* for aſſiſtance; who fearing to come to an open rupture, by continual flinging in new occaſions to buſy and employ their heads, made a ſhift to ſtave off the Law. For theſe things he was diſreliſht by the People. But the greateſt and moſt apparent cauſe of their Hatred againſt him,

him, aroſe from the Tenths of the Spoil, the Multitude having herein, if not ſo juſt, yet a plauſible pretence againſt him. For it ſeems, as he went to the Siege of *Veii*, he had vowed to *Apollo*, that if he took the City, he would dedicate to him the tenth of the Spoil. The City being taken and ſacked, whether he was loth to trouble the Soldiers at that time, or that through multitude of buſineſs he had forgotten his Vow, he ſuffer'd them to enjoy that part of the Spoils alſo. Some time afterwards, when his Authority was laid down, he brought the matter before the Senate; and the Prieſts at the ſame time reported out of the Sacrifices, that the Anger of the Gods was portended, and that they were not to be appeaſed without Expiation and Offerings. The Senate decreed the Obligation to be in force.

Camillus *unmindful of his Vow.*

But ſeeing it was difficult for every one to produce the very ſame things they had taken, to be divided anew, they ordained that every one upon Oath ſhould bring into the Publick the tenth part of his gain. This ſeem'd very ſevere and grievous to the Soldiers, who ceaſed not to murmur, that poor Men, and ſuch as had endured ſo much labour and travail in the War, ſhould be forced, out of what they had gained and ſpent, to bring in ſo great a proportion. *Camillus* being aſſaulted by their clamour

and

and tumults, for want of a better excuſe, betook himſelf to the meaneſt of defences, by confeſſing he had forgotten his Vow; but they complain'd that he who then vowed the tenth of the Enemy, now levied it out of the tenths of the Citizens. Nevertheleſs, every one having brought in his due Proportion, it was decreed, that out of it a Bowl of maſſy Gold ſhould be made and ſent to *Delphos*. But there was great ſcarcity of Gold in the City; and when the Magiſtrates were conſidering where to get it, the *Roman* Ladies meeting together, and conſulting among themſelves, out of the golden Ornaments they wore, contributed as much as went to the making the Offering, which in weight came to Eight Talents of Gold. The Senate, to give them the Honour they had deſerved, ordained that Funeral Orations ſhould be uſed at the Obſequies of Women, as well as Men; it having never before been a cuſtom that any Woman after Death was publickly praiſed. Chuſing out therefore three of the chief of the Nobility for Ambaſſadors, they ſent them in a fair Veſſel, well mann'd, and ſumptuouſly adorned. It was Winter, and the Sea was calm: however, it is remarkable, that being brought almoſt to the very brink of Deſtruction, beyond all expectation, they eſcaped the danger. For hard by the Iſles of *Æolus*, the Winds ſlacking, the

The free contribution of the Roman *Ladies to pacify* Apollo.

the Gallies of the *Liparians* came upon them, taking them for Pirates. But when they held up their Hands in ſuppliant manner, the *Liparians* forbore violence, only faſtned their Ship and towed her into the Harbour, where they expoſed to ſail their Goods and Perſons, adjudging them to be lawful Prize. But by the Virtue and Intereſt of one Man, *Timeſitheus* by name, who was Governor of that Place, and uſed his utmoſt perſuaſion, they were with much ado diſmiſſed. Beſides, he himſelf joined ſome of his own Veſſels with them, to accompany them in their Voyage, and aſſiſt them at the Dedication: For which he received Honours at *Rome* according as he had deſerved. And now the Tribunes of the People again reſuming the Law about the diviſion of the City, the War againſt the *Faliſces* luckily broke out, giving liberty to the Nobility to chuſe what Magiſtrates they pleaſed, who thereupon choſe *Camillus Military Tribune*, with five other Aſſociates; Affairs then requiring a Commander of Authority and Reputation, and one well experienc'd in War. When the People had ratified the Election, *Camillus* marched with his Forces into the Territories of the *Faliſces*, and beſieged *Falerii* a well fenced City, and plentifully ſtored with all neceſſaries of War: And tho he perceived it would be no ſmall work to take it, nor little time ſpent

War againſt the Faliſces.

ſpent about it, yet he was willing to exerciſe the Citizens, and keep them doing abroad, that they might have no leiſure, idling at home, to follow the Tribunes into Faction and Sedition. Which remedy the *Romans* conſtantly uſed, like good Phyſicians, to diſperſe abroad thoſe violent Humours that diſturb the Commonwealth. The *Falerians*, truſting in the ſtrength of their City, which was well fortified on all ſides, made ſo little account of the Siege, that beſide thoſe that guarded the Walls, the reſt as in Times of Peace walked the Streets in their common Habits. The Boys went to School, and were led by their Maſter to play and exerciſe about the Town-walls; for the *Falerians*, like the *Grecians*, uſed one publick School, to the end, their Children being brought up together, might betimes learn to converſe and be familiar with one another.

The treachery of the Falerian *School-maſter.*

This School-maſter deſigning to betray the *Falerians* by their Children, led them out every day under the Town-wall, at firſt but a little way, and when they had exerciſed brought them home again. Afterwards by degrees he drew them farther and farther, till at laſt by practice he had made them Bold and Fearleſs, as if no danger was about them. At laſt, having got them all together, be brought them to the Out-guard of the *Romans*, and delivered them

them up, demanding to be led to *Camillus*. Where being come, and ſtanding in the middle, he ſaid, *That he was the Maſter and Teacher of thoſe Children, but preferring his Favour before all other Obligations, he was come to deliver up his Charge to him, and in that the whole City.* When *Camillus* had heard him out, he was ſtruck with the horror of ſo treacherous an Act; and turning to the Standers by, he ſaid, *What a ſad thing is War, which is begun and ended with much Injuſtice and Violence! But to good Men there are certain Laws even in War it ſelf, and Victory is not ſo greedily to be hunted after, as not to refuſe the aſſiſtance of wicked and unrighteous Actions; for it becomes a great General to rely on his own Virtue, and not on the Deceit and Treachery of others.* Which ſaid, he commanded his Officers to tear off his Clothes, and bind his Hands behind him, and give the Boys Rods and Scourges, to puniſh the Traitor, and drive him back to the City. By this time the *Falerii* had underſtood the Treachery of the School-maſter; and the City, as in ſuch a general Calamity it muſt needs be, was full of Lamentations and Cries, the Honourable Men and Women running in Diſtraction about the Walls and Gates; when behold the Boys came whipping their Maſter on, naked and bound, calling *Camillus* their Saviour, their God, their Father:

His deſerved Puniſhment.

Father: inſomuch, that it ſtruck not only into the Parents, but the reſt of the Citizens that ſaw what was done, ſuch an Admiration and Love of *Camillus* his Juſtice, that immediately running into Council, they ſent Ambaſſadors to him, to reſign whatever they had to his diſpoſal. *Camillus* ſent them to *Rome*, where being brought into the Senate, they ſpoke to this purpoſe: *That the* Romans, *preferring Juſtice before Victory, had taught them rather to embrace Submiſſion than Liberty; that they could not confeſs themſelves to be ſo much inferior in Strength, as they muſt acknowledg them to be ſuperior in Virtue.* The Senate remitted the whole matter to *Camillus*, to judg and order as he thought fit. Who taking a ſum of Mony of the *Falerians*, and making a Peace with the whole Nation of the *Faliſces*, returned home: But the Soldiers, who expected to have had the Pillage of the City, when they came to *Rome* empty-handed, railed againſt *Camillus* among their Fellow-Citizens, as a Hater of the People, and one that maliciouſly oppoſed the Intereſt of the Poor. Afterwards, when the Tribunes of the People again propoſed the Law for dividing the City, *Camillus* of all others moſt openly appear'd againſt it, ſparing no Pains, but inveighing with all boldneſs againſt the Promoters of it; ſo that forcing and conſtraining the multitude,

they dismissed the Law, tho contrary to their Inclinations. But against *Camillus* they had an implacable hatred; insomuch, that tho a great Misfortune befel him in his Family (one of his Sons dying of a Disease) yet the Commiseration of his Case could not in the least make them abate of their Malice. And indeed he took this loss with immoderate Sorrow, being a Man naturally of a mild and tender Disposition; even that day, when the Accusation was preferred against him, he kept House, and was shut up a close Mourner with the Women. His Accuser was *Lucius Apuleius*; the Crime, Fraud in the *Tuscan* Spoils: and accordingly it was given out, that there were found with him certain Brass Gates, part of those Spoils. The People were exasperated against him, and it was plain they would take hold of the least pretence and occasion to condemn him. Wherefore gathering together his Friends and fellow-Soldiers, and such as had bore Command with him, a considerable number in all, he besought them that they would not suffer him to be unjustly crusht under false Accusations, and left the mock and scorn of his Enemies. His Friends having advised and consulted among themselves, made Answer, That as to the Sentence, they did not see how they could help him, but that they would contribute to whatsoever Fine

Camillus labours under two sad Disasters.

should

ſhould be ſet upon him. Not able to endure ſo great an Indignity, he reſolved in his Anger to leave the City, and go into Exile. Wherefore having taken leave of his Wife, and his Son, he went ſilently to the Gate of the City, where making a ſtand, and turning himſelf about, he ſtretched out his Hands to the Capitol, and prayed to the Gods, *That if without any Fault of his own, but merely through the Malice and Violence of the People, he was driven out into Baniſhment, the* Romans *might quickly have cauſe to repent of it; and that all Mankind might viſibly perceive that they needed his aſſiſtance, and longed for his return.* Thus like *Achilles*, having left his Imprecations on the Citizens, he went into Baniſhment; ſo that neither appearing, or making defence, he was condemned in the ſum of fifteen thouſand Aſſes, which reduced to Silver, make a thouſand five hundred Drachma's; for an Aſſe was a little piece of Mony, ten of which in Braſs made a Penny. There is not a *Roman* but does believe that immediately upon the Prayers of *Camillus*, a ſudden Judgment followed at the heels, and that he received a ſufficient Revenge for the Injuſtice done to him; which tho we cannot think was pleaſant, but rather grievous and bitter to him, yet it was very remarkable, and noiſed over the whole World: For ſuch Vengeance fell upon the

His voluntary Baniſhment,

And its concomitant Calamities.

City of *Rome*, and ſuch diſmal times ſucceeded, as drew along with them all manner of Dangers and Deaths, accompanied with Diſgrace and Infamy: Whether or no it fell out by chance or fortune, or it be the Office of ſome God not to ſee injured Virtue go unrevenged. The firſt Token that ſeemed to threaten ſome Miſchief to enſue, was the Death of the Cenſor in the Month of *July*; for the *Romans* have a religious Reverence for the Office of a Cenſor, and eſteem it a ſacred thing. The ſecond was, That juſt before *Camillus* went into Exile, *Marcus Cedicius*, a Perſon of no great Quality, nor of the Rank of Senators, but eſteemed a ſober and creditable Man, reported to the *Military Tribunes* a thing worthy their Conſideration: That going along the Night before in that Street which is called the *New Way*, and being called by ſome Body in a huge Voice, he turned about but could ſee no Body, but heard a Voice bigger than a Man's, which ſaid theſe Words: *Go*, Marcus Cedicius, *and early in the Morning tell the Military Tribunes, that ſuddenly they are to expect the* Gauls. But the Tribunes made a mock and ſport with the Story, and a little after *Camillus* his Buſineſs fell out.

The Gauls, *their Original and Progreſs.*

The *Gauls* are deſcended originally of the *Celtæ*, and are reported by reaſon of their vaſt Numbers to have left their Country,

try, not able to ſuſtain them all, and to have gone in ſearch of other places to inhabit. And being many thouſands of them young Men and able to bear Arms, and carrying with them a greater number of Women and young Children, ſome of them paſſing the *Riphæan* Mountains, fell upon the Northern Ocean, and poſſeſſed the uttermoſt Bounds of *Europe*; others ſeating themſelves between the *Pyrenæan* Mountain and the *Alps*, for a long time lived near to the *Sennones* and *Celtorii*. But afterwards taſting of the Wine which was then firſt brought them out of *Italy*, they were all ſo much taken with the Liquor, and tranſported with the unuſual Delight, that ſnatching up their Arms, and taking their Parents along with 'em, they marched directly to the *Alps* to find out that Country which yielded ſuch Fruit, eſteeming all others barren and unpleaſant. He that firſt brought Wine among them, and was the chief Inſtigator to draw them into *Italy*, is ſaid to be one *Arron* a *Tuſcan*, a Man of Noble Extraction, by Nature not Evil, but happened to be in thoſe untoward Circumſtances: He was Guardian to an Orphan, one of the richeſt of that Country, and much admir'd for his Beauty, his Name *Lucumo*; from his Childhood he had been bred up with *Arron* in his Family, and now grown up, he left not the Houſe, pretending to

Arron *inſtrumental in bringing the* Gauls *into* Italy.

take great delight in his Converſation; thus for a great while together he ſecretly enjoyed *Arron*'s Wife, corrupting and being corrupted by her. But when they were both ſo far gone on in their Paſſions, that they could neither refrain their Luſt or conceal it, the young Man ſeized the Woman, and openly carried her away. The Huſband going to Law, and over-power'd in multitude of Friends and Mony, left his own Country; and hearing of the State of the *Gauls*, went to them, and was Conductor of that Expedition into *Italy*. At firſt coming they preſently poſſeſſed themſelves of all that Country which antiently the *Tuſcans* inhabited, reaching from the *Alps* to both the Seas, as the Names themſelves witneſs; for the North Sea *Adria* is ſo called from the *Tuſcan* City *Adria*, and that which lies on the other ſide to the South is called the *Tuſcan* Sea. All the Country is well planted with Trees, has pleaſant and rich Paſture, and well water'd with Rivers. It had eighteen fair and ſtately Cities, excellently ſeated for Induſtry and Trade, and plentifully provided for all Pleaſures and Delights. The *Gauls* caſting out the *Tuſcans*, ſeated themſelves in them: But theſe things were done long before.

But the *Gauls* at this time were beſieging *Cluſium* a *Tuſcan* City. The *Cluſians* ſent to the *Romans* for ſuccour, deſiring them

to

to interpoſe with the *Barbarians* by their Letters and Ambaſſadors. There were ſent three of the Family of the *Fabii*, Perſons of the greateſt Quality, and moſt Honourable in the City. The *Gauls* received them courteouſly in reſpect to the Name of *Rome*; and giving over the Aſſault which was then making upon the Walls, came to Conference with them: where the Ambaſſadors asking what Injury they had received of the *Cluſians*, that they thus invaded their City; *Brennus*, King of the *Gauls*, ſmiling made Anſwer, *The* Cluſians *do us Injury, in that, not able to till a ſmall parcel of Ground, they muſt needs poſſeſs a great Territory, and will not communicate any part to us, who are Strangers, many in number, and poor. In the ſame Nature, O* Romans, *formerly the* Albans, Fidenates *and* Ardeates, *and now lately the* Veians *and* Capenates, *and many of the* Faliſces *and* Volſces *did you Injury; upon whom ye make War if they do not yield you part of what they poſſeſs, ye make Slaves of them, ye waſte and ſpoil their Country, and ruin their Cities: neither in ſo doing are ye cruel or unjuſt, but follow that moſt antient of all Laws, which gives the things of the feeble to the ſtrong, beginning from God and ending in the Beaſts; for all theſe by Nature ſeek, the ſtronger to have advantage of the weaker. Leave off therefore to pity the* Cluſians *whom we beſiege, leſt*

Brennus's *ſatyrical Reply to the* Roman *Ambaſſadors at the Siege of* Cluſium.

ye teach the Gauls *to be good and compaſſionate to thoſe that are oppreſſed by you.* By this Anſwer the *Romans* perceived that *Brennus* was not to be treated with; ſo they went into *Cluſium*, and encouraged and ſtirr'd up the Inhabitants to make a ſally with them upon the *Barbarians*, which they did either to try the ſtrength of the *Cluſians*, or to ſhew their own. The Sally being made, and the Fight growing hot about the Walls, one of the *Fabii*, *Quintus Ambuſtus*, being well mounted, and ſetting Spurs to his Horſe, made full againſt a *Gaul*, a Man of huge Bulk and Stature, whom he ſaw was rode out a great diſtance from the reſt. At the firſt he was not perceived through the ſharpneſs of the Encounter, and the glittering of his Armour that hindred the ſight of him; but when he had overthrown the *Gaul*, and was going to gather the Spoils, *Brennus* knew him, and invoking the Gods to be Witneſſes, that contrary to the known and common Law of Nations, which is holily obſerved by all Mankind, that he who came an Ambaſſador ſhould act Hoſtility againſt him, he drew off his Men, and bidding the *Cluſians* farewel, led his Army directly to *Rome*. But not willing it ſhould look as if they took advantage of that Injury, and were ready to embrace any ſlight occaſion or pretence of Quarrel, he ſent a Herald to demand

Brennus *by what incens'd to make War with* Rome.

demand the Man in Puniſhment, and in the mean time marched leiſurely on. The Senate being met at *Rome*, among many others that ſpoke againſt the *Fabii*, the Prieſts called *Feciales* were the moſt violent Proſecutors, who laying Religion before the Senate, adviſed them that they would lay the whole guilt and expiation of the fact upon him that committed it, and ſo acquit the reſt. Theſe *Feciales*, *Numa Pompilius*, the mildeſt and juſteſt of Kings, conſtituted the Conſervators of Peace, and the Judges and Determiners of all Cauſes by which War may juſtifiably be made. The Senate referring the whole matter to the People, and the Prieſts there as well as in the Senate pleading againſt *Fabius*, the Multitude did ſo little regard their Authority, that in ſcorn and contempt of it they choſe *Fabius* and the reſt of his Brethren *Military Tribunes*. The *Gauls* hearing this, in great Rage would no longer delay their march, but haſtned on with all the ſpeed they could make. The Places through which they marched, terrified with their numbers and ſuch dreadful preparations of War, and conſidering the violence and fierceneſs of their Natures, began to give their Countries for loſt, not doubting but their Cities would quickly follow; but contrary to expectation they did no injury as they paſſed, or drove any thing from the Fields, and when they went by any

Fabius *choſen Tribune in the Expedition againſt the* Gauls.

City

City they cried out, *That they were going to* Rome; that the *Romans only were their Enemies*, and that they took all others for their Friends. Thus whilſt the *Barbarians* were haſtning with all ſpeed, the *Military Tribunes* brought the *Romans* into the Field to be ready to engage them, being not inferior to the *Gauls* in number (for they were no leſs than Forty thouſand Foot) but moſt of them raw Soldiers, and ſuch as had never handled a Weapon before; beſides they had neglected to conſult the Gods, as they ought and uſed to do upon all difficulties, eſpecially War, but ran on without ſtaying for Prieſts or Sacrifice. No leſs did the multitude of Commanders diſtract and confound their proceedings; for before upon leſs occaſions they choſe a ſingle Perſon called *Dictator*, being ſenſible of what great importance it is in times of Danger, to have the Soldiers united under one General, who had abſolute and unaccountable Power in his hands. Add to all, that the remembrance of *Camillus* his caſe was no ſmall hindrance to their affairs, it being grown a dangerous thing to command without humouring and courting the Soldiers. In this condition they left the City, and encamped by the River *Allia* about eleven Miles from *Rome*, and not far from the Place where it falleth into the *Tyber*; where the *Gauls* coming upon them, and they

Neglect of religious duties, and multiplicity of Officers, extreamly prejudicial to the Roman *affairs.*

they ſhamefully engaging without Order or Diſcipline, were miſerably defeated. The left Wing was immediately driven into the River, and there utterly deſtroyed: the Right had leſs damage, by declining the ſhock, and from the low Grounds getting to the tops of Hills, from whence many of them afterwards drop'd into the City; the reſt, as many as eſcaped, (the Enemy being weary of the ſlaughter) ſtole by night to *Veii*, giving *Rome* for gone, and all that was in it for loſt. This Battel was fought about the Summer Solſtice, the Moon being at full, the very ſame day in which formerly happened that ſad misfortune to the *Fabii*, when three hundred of that Name and Family were at one time cut off by the *Tuſcans*. But from this ſecond loſs and defeat, the day got the name of *Allienſis*, from the River *Allia*, and ſtill retaineth it. But concerning unlucky Days, whether we ſhould eſteem any ſuch or no, or whether *Heraclitus* did well in upbraiding *Heſiod* for diſtinguiſhing them into fortunate and unfortunate, as one ignorant that the nature of every day is the ſame, I have diſcovered in another Place; but upon occaſion of this preſent ſubject, I think it will not be amiſs to annex a few examples relating to this matter. On the fifth of *June* the *Bœotians* happened to get two ſignal Victories, the one about *Leuctra*, the other at *Geraſtus*, about

Remarkable occurrences relating to the obſervation of particular Days.

about three hundred years before, when they overcame *Lattamyas* and the *Theſſalians*, and aſſerted the Liberty of *Greece*. Again, on the ſixth of *Auguſt* the *Perſians* were worſted by the *Grecians* at *Marathon*; on the third at *Platæa*, as alſo at *Mycale*; on the twenty fifth at *Arbeli*. The *Athenians* about the full Moon in *Auguſt*, got a Sea Victory about *Naxus*, under the Conduct of *Chabrias*; about the twentieth at *Salamin*, as we have ſhewn in our Book of Days. *April* was very unfortunate to the *Barbarians*, for in that Month *Alexander* overcame *Darius* his General at *Granicum*, and the *Carthaginians* on the twenty ſeventh were beaten by *Timoleon* about *Sicily*; on which ſame Day and Month *Troy* ſeems to have been taken, as *Ephorus*, *Calliſthenes*, *Damaſtes* and *Phylarchus* have related. On the other hand, the Month *July* was not very lucky to the *Grecians*; for on the ſeventh day of the ſame they were defeated by *Antipater*, at the Battel in *Cranon*, and utterly ruin'd; and before that in *Chæronea* they were defeated by *Philip*, and on the very ſame Day, ſame Month, and ſame Year, they that went with *Archidamus* into *Italy* were there cut off by the *Barbarians*. The *Carthaginians* obſerve the twenty ſeventh of the ſame Month, as bringing with it the moſt and greateſt of their loſſes. I am not ignorant that about the *Feaſt of Myſteries*,

Myſteries, *Thebes* was deſtroyed by *Alexander*; and after that, upon the ſame twentieth of *Auguſt*, on which day they celebrate the Myſteries of *Bacchus*, the *Athenians* received a Gariſon of the *Macedonians*: on the ſelf-ſame day the *Romans* loſt their Camp under *Scipio*, by the *Cimbrians*, and under the Conduct of *Lucullus* overcame the *Armenians* and *Tigranes*. King *Attalus* and *Pompey* died both on their Birthdays. I could reckon up ſeveral that have had variety of Fortune on the ſame Day. This Day called *Allienſis* is made one of the unfortunate ones in the *Roman* Calendar, and for its ſake two others in every Month; Fear and Superſtition did more and more encreaſe. But I have diſcourſed this more accurately in my Book of *Roman Cauſes*.

The Gauls *imprudent managers of their Victory.*

And now after the Battel, had the *Gauls* immediately purſued thoſe that fled, there had been no remedy but *Rome* muſt have wholly been ruined, and all thoſe who remained in it utterly deſtroyed: ſuch was the Terror that thoſe who eſcaped the Battel had ſtruck into the City at their return, and ſo great afterwards was the Diſtraction and Confuſion. But the *Gauls* not imagining their Victory to be ſo conſiderable, and overtaken with the preſent Joy, fell to feaſting and dividing the Spoil, by which means they gave leiſure to thoſe who were

for

for leaving the City to make their eſcape, and to thoſe that remained to provide and prepare for their coming. For they who reſolved to ſtay at *Rome*, quitting the reſt of the City, betook themſelves to the *Capitol*, which they fortified with ſtrong Ramparts and Mounds, and all ſorts of Slings and Darts, in order to hold out a Siege. But their firſt and principal care was of their Holy Things, moſt of which they conveyed into the Capitol. But as for the Conſecrated Fire, the *Veſtal Virgins* took it up and fled away with it, as likewiſe with other Holy Relicks. Some write that they preſerved nothing but that *Ever-living* Fire, which *Numa* had ordained to be worſhip'd as the Principal of all things: for Fire is the moſt active thing in nature, and all generation is motion, or at leaſt with motion; all other parts of matter without warmth lie ſluggiſh and dead, and crave the influence of heat at their Soul, which when it comes upon them, they preſently fall to doing or ſuffering ſomething. Wherefore *Numa*, a Man very curious in ſuch things, and for his Wiſdom thought to converſe with the Muſes, did conſecrate Fire, and ordained it to be kept ever burning, in reſemblance of that Eternal Power which preſerves and acteth all things. Others ſay, that that Fire was the ſame they burned before the Sacrifices, and was no other than what the

The holy Fire preſerv'd by the Veſtals.

Why inſtituted by Numa.

Greeks

Greeks call *Purifying Fire*; but that there were other things hid in the moſt ſecret part of the Temple, which were kept from the view of all except thoſe Virgins which they call Veſtals. The moſt common Opinion was, that the Image of *Pallas* brought into *Italy* by *Æneas*, was laid up there: others ſay, that the *Samothracian Gods* lay there; telling a ſtory, How that *Dardanus* carried them to *Troy*, and when he had built that City, dedicated them there; that after *Troy* was taken, *Æneas* ſtole them away, and kept them till his coming into *Italy*. But they who pretend to underſtand more of theſe things, affirm, that there are two Barrels, not of any great ſize, one of which ſtands open and has nothing in it, the other full and ſealed up; but that neither of them is to be ſeen but by the moſt Holy Virgins. Others think that they who ſay this are deceived, becauſe the Virgins put moſt of their Holy things into two Barrels, and hid them under ground in the Temple of *Quirinus*, and that from hence that Place to this day bears the ſirname of *Barrels*. However it be, taking the choiceſt and moſt venerable things they had, they fled away with them, ſhaping their courſe along the River ſide, where *Lucius Albinus*, a ſimple Citizen of *Rome*, who among others was making his eſcape, overtook them, having his Wife, Children

Children and Goods in a Cart, who ſeeing the Virgins lugging along in their Arms the Holy Relicks of the Gods in a helpleſs and weary Condition, he cauſed his Wife and Children to deſcend; and taking out his Goods, put the Virgins in the Cart, that they might make their eſcape to ſome of the *Grecian* Cities. This extraordinary Devotion of *Albinus*, and reſpect to the Gods, in ſuch an exigence of Time, and extremity of his own Affairs, is ſo remarkable, as deſerves not to be paſſed over in ſilence. But the Prieſts that belonged to other Gods, and the moſt antient of the Senators, ſuch as had run through many Conſulſhips and Triumphs, could not endure to think of leaving the City; but putting on their holy Veſtures and Robes of State, and *Fabius* the High Prieſt performing the Office, they made their Prayers to the Gods, and devoting themſelves as it were for their Country, ſat themſelves down in Ivory Chairs in the Market-place, and in that poſture expected the uttermoſt of what ſhould follow. On the third day after the Battel, *Brennus* appeared with his Army at the City; and finding the Gates to ſtand wide open, and no Guards upon the Walls, he firſt began to ſuſpect it was ſome Deſign or Stratagem, never dreaming that the *Romans* were in ſo low and forſaken a Condition. But when he found it to be ſo indeed, he entred

entred at the *Colline* Gate, and took *Rome* in the Three hundred and ſixtieth Year, or a little more, after it was built, if it be likely that an exact account of thoſe times has been preſerved, when there is ſo much Confuſion and Diſpute in things of a later date. The Report of the City's being taken preſently flew into *Greece*, tho in different and uncertain Rumours; for *Heraclides* of *Pontus*, who lived not long after theſe Times, in his Book *of the Soul*, relates that a certain Report came from the Weſt, that an Army proceeding from the *Hyperboreans*, had taken a *Greek* City called *Rome*, ſeated ſomewhere upon the great Ocean. But I do not wonder that ſuch a fabulous and bumbaſt Author as *Heraclides* ſhould foiſt into the Truth of the Story ſuch high-flown Words as *Hyperborean* and *Ocean*. *Ariſtotle* the Philoſopher appears to have heard an exact account of the taking of the City by the *Gauls*, but he calls him that recovered it *Lucius*, and *Camillus* his Sirname was not *Lucius* but *Marcus*; tho this is ſpoken by way of Conjecture. *Brennus* having taken Poſſeſſion of the City, ſet a ſtrong Guard about the Capitol, and going himſelf to view the City, when he came into the Market-place, he was ſtruck with an Amazement at the ſight of ſo many Men ſitting in that Order and Silence, obſerving that they neither roſe at his coming, or ſo much as

changed Colour or Countenance, but without Fear or Concern leaned upon their Staves, and in that ſullen Majeſty ſat looking one upon the other. The *Gauls* for a great while ſtood wondring at the Object, being ſurpriſed with the ſtrangeneſs of it, not daring ſo much as to approach or touch them, taking them for an Aſſembly of the Gods. But when one, bolder than the reſt, drew near to *M. Papirius*, and putting forth his Hand, gently touched his Chin, and ſtroked his long Beard, *Papirius* with his Staff ſtruck him on the Head, and broke it; at which the *Barbarian* enraged, drew out his Sword, and ſlew him. This was the Introduction to the Slaughter; for the reſt of his Fellows following this Example, ſet upon them all and killed them, and continuing their rage, diſpatched all that came in their way: In this fury they went on to the ſacking and pillaging the Houſes, for many days together lugging and carrying away. Afterwards they burnt them down to the Ground, and demoliſh'd them, being incenſed at thoſe who kept the Capitol, becauſe they would not yield to Summons, or hearken to a Surrender, but on the contrary from their Walls and Ramparts galled the Beſiegers with their Slings and Darts. This provoked them to deſtroy the whole City, and put to the Sword all that came to their hands, young and old, Men, Women

The Roman *Senators barbarouſly murdered by the* Gauls.

men and Children. And now the Siege of the Capitol having laſted a good while, the *Gauls* began to be in want of Proviſion: wherefore dividing their Forces, part of them ſtay'd with the King at the Siege, the reſt went to forage the Country, deſtroying the Towns and Villages where they came; yet not all together in a Body, but in different Squadrons and Parties. And to ſuch a Confidence had Succeſs raiſed them, that they careleſly rambled about without the leaſt fear or apprehenſion of Danger. But the greateſt and beſt ordered Body of their Forces went to the City of *Ardea*, where *Camillus* then ſojourned, having ever ſince his leaving *Rome* ſequeſtred himſelf from all Buſineſs, and taken to a private Life: but now he began to rouſe up himſelf and caſt about, not how to avoid or eſcape the Enemy, but to find out an opportunity how to be revenged of them. And perceiving that the *Ardeans* wanted not Men, but rather Heart and Courage, thro the unskilful management of their Officers; at firſt he began to deal with the young Men, flinging out Words among them, *That they ought not to aſcribe the misfortune of the* Romans *to the Courage of their Enemy, or attribute the loſſes they ſuſtained by raſh Counſel, to the Conduct of thoſe who brought nothing with them to conquer, but were only an Evidence of the Power of Fortune: That it was a brave*

Camillus ſtudious of ſupporting the declining State of his Country.

thing, even with danger to repel a Foreign and Barbarous War, whoſe end in conquering was like Fire to lay waſt and deſtroy. But if they would be courageous and reſolute, he was ready to put an opportunity in their Hands to gain a Victory without hazard at all. When he found the young Men embrac'd the thing, he went to the chief Officers and Governors of the City, and having perſuaded them alſo, he muſtered all that could bear Arms, and drew them up within the Walls, that they might not be perceived by the Enemy who was near; who having ſcoured the Country, and returned heavy laden with Booty, lay encamped in the Plains in a careleſs and negligent poſture; ſo that the Night coming upon them who had been diſordered with Wine, there was great ſilence through all the Camp. Which when *Camillus* underſtood by his Spies, he drew out the *Ardeans*, and in the dead of the Night, paſſing in ſilence thoſe Grounds that lay between, he made himſelf maſter of their Works; and then commanding his Trumpets to ſound, and his Men to ſhout and hollow, he ſtruck ſuch terror into them, that even they who took the Alarm could hardly recover their Senſes. Some were ſo overcharged with Wine, that all the noiſe of the Aſſailants could not awaken them: A few, whom fear made ſober, getting into ſome order, for a while reſiſted, and ſo died with their Weapons

His Victory over the Gauls *at* Ardea.

Weapons in their Hands. But the greateſt part of them, buried in Wine and Sleep, were ſurpriſed without their Arms, and diſpatched: But as many of them as, by the advantage of the Night, got out of the Camp, were the next day found ſcattered abroad, and wandering in the Fields, and were pick'd up by the Horſe that purſued them. The Fame of this Action preſently flew thro the Neighbouring Cities, and ſtirred up the Youth of all parts to come and join themſelves with him. But none were ſo much concerned as thoſe *Romans* who eſcaped in the Battel of *Allia*, and were now at *Veii*, thus lamenting with themſelves: *O Heavens, what a Commander has Providence bereaved* Rome *of, to honour* Ardea *with his Actions! And that City, which brought forth and nurſed ſo great a Man, is loſt and gone; and we deſtitute of a Leader, and living within ſtrange Walls, ſit idle, and ſee* Italy *ruin'd before our Eyes. Come, let us ſend to the* Ardeans *to have back our General, or elſe, with Weapons in our Hands, let us go thither to him; for he is no longer a baniſh'd Man, nor we Citizens, having no Country, but what is in the poſſeſſion of the Enemy.* They all agreed upon the matter, and ſent to *Camillus*, to deſire him to take the Command; but he anſwered, that he would not, until they that were in the Capitol ſhould legally

chuſe him; for he eſteemed them, as long as they were in being, to be his Country: that if they ſhould command him, he would readily obey; but againſt their conſents, he would intermeddle with nothing. When this Anſwer was returned, they admired the Modeſty and Temper of *Camillus*, but they could not tell how to find a Meſſenger to carry theſe things to the Capitol; and what was more, it ſeem'd altogether impoſſible for any one to get to them, whilſt the Enemy was in full Poſſeſſion of the City. But among the young Men, there was one *Pontius Cominius*, of indifferent Birth, but ambitious of Honour; this Man proffered himſelf to run the hazard, but he took no Letters with him to thoſe in the Capitol, leſt that being intercepted, the Enemy might learn the Intentions of *Camillus*. But putting on a poor Garment, and carrying Corks under it, the greateſt part of the way he boldly travelled by day, and came to the City when it was dark: The Bridg he could not paſs, by reaſon it was guarded by the *Barbarians*; ſo that taking his Clothes, which were neither many nor heavy, and binding them about his Head, he laid his Body upon the Corks, and ſwimming on them, got over to the City. And avoiding thoſe Quarters where he perceived the Enemy was awake, which he gueſſed at by the Lights and Noiſe, he went

Cominius's hazardous Attempt.

to

to the *Carmentale* Gate, where there was greateſt ſilence, and where the Hill of the Capitol is ſteepeſt, and riſes with craggy and broken Stones. By this way he got up, tho with much difficulty, by reaſon of the abruptneſs of the Paſſage, and preſented himſelf to the Guards, ſaluting them, and telling them his Name; he was taken in, and carried to the Commanders. And a Senate being immediately called, he related to them in order the Victory of *Camillus*, which they had not heard of before, and told them the proceedings of the Soldiers, adviſing them to confirm the Command to *Camillus*, as in whoſe Conduct alone the whole Army abroad relied. Having heard and conſulted of the matter, the Senate declared *Camillus* Dictator, and ſent back *Pontius* the ſame way that he came; who, with the ſame Succeſs that he came, got through the Enemy, without being diſcovered, and delivered to the *Romans* the Election of the Senate, who received it with great Acclamations of Joy, and *Camillus* coming to them, found twenty thouſand of them ready in Arms; with which Forces, and thoſe Confederates he brought along with him, which were more in number, he prepared to ſet upon the Enemy.

Camillus *voted Dictator.*

But at *Rome* ſome of the *Barbarians* paſſing by chance that way by which *Pontius*

by Night had got into the Capitol, ſpied in ſeveral places the print of his Feet and Hands, as he caught and clambered, and the Moſs that grew to the Rock tore off and broken, and reported it to the King; who coming in Perſon and viewing it, for the preſent ſaid nothing. But in the Evening, picking out ſuch of the *Gauls* as were nimbleſt of Body, and by living in the Mountains were accuſtomed to climb, he thus ſpake unto them: *The Enemy themſelves have ſhown us a way how to come at them, which we knew not of before; and have taught us, that it is not ſo difficult and impoſſible, but that Men may overcome it. It would be a great ſhame for us who command, having begun well, to fail in the end; and to give over a Place as impregnable, when the Enemy himſelf chalks us out the way by which it may be taken: for in the ſame place where it was eaſy for one Man to get up, it will not be hard for many, one after another; nay, when many ſhall undertake it, their mutual aſſiſtance of one another will be a great addition of ſtrength and firmneſs. Rewards and Honours ſhall be beſtowed on every Man according as he ſhall acquit himſelf in the Action.* When the King had thus ſpoken, the *Gauls* chearfully undertook to perform it, and in the dead of Night, a good Party of them together, with a great ſilence began to climb the Rock, catching hold of the cragg-

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gy Stones, and drawing their Bodies into the broken Places, which tho hard and untoward in it ſelf, yet upon trial prov'd not half ſo difficult as they had expected it. So that the foremoſt of them having gained the top of all, and put themſelves into order, they were not far from ſurprizing the Out-works, and maſtering the Watch, who were faſt aſleep, for neither Man nor Dog perceived their coming. But there were ſacred Geeſe kept near the Temple of *Juno*, which at other times were plentifully fed; but at this time, by reaſon that Corn and all other Proviſions were grown ſcarce, their allowance was ſhortned, and they themſelves in a poor and lean condition. This Creature is by nature of quick ſenſe, and apprehenſive of the leaſt noiſe; ſo that being beſides watchful thro hunger, and reſtleſs, they immediately diſcovered the coming of he *Gauls*; and running up and down, with their noiſe and cackling, they raiſed the whole Camp. The *Barbarians* on the other ſide perceiving themſelves diſcovered, no longer endeavoured to conceal their attempt, but with great ſhouting and violence ſet themſelves to the aſſault. The *Romans* every one in haſt ſnatching up the next Weapon that came to hand, did what they could on this ſudden occaſion. *Manlius*, a man of Conſular Dignity, of ſtrong Body and ſtout Heart,

The Gauls diſcovered by the ſacred Geeſe, in their attempts upon the Capitol.

They are valiantly encounter'd by Manlius.

heart, was the firſt that made head againſt them, and engaging with two of the Enemy at once, with his Sword cut off the right Arm of one juſt as he was lifting up his Poleax to ſtrike; and running his Target full in the Face of the other, tumbled him headlong down the ſteep Rock: then mounting the Rampart, and there ſtanding with others that came ſtraight to his aſſiſtance, he drove down the reſt of them, there having not many got up; and thoſe that had, doing nothing brave or gallant. The *Romans* having thus eſcaped this danger, early in the morning took the Captain of the Watch, and flung him down the Rock upon the head of their Enemies; and to *Manlius* for his Victory they voted a Reward which carried more Honour than Advantage with it, which was, that they contributed to him as much as every Man had for his daily allowance, which was half a pound of Bread, and about half a pint of Wine. Hence-forward the Affairs of the *Gauls* were daily in a worſe and worſe condition; they wanted Proviſions, being kept in from foraging thro fear of *Camillus*; beſides, that Sickneſs came upon them, occaſioned by the number of Carcaſes that lay unburied in heaps. Moreover, being lodged among the Ruins, the Aſhes, which were very deep, blown about with the wind, and mingled with the ſultry heat, cauſed

A contagious Infection among the Gauls.

cauſed a dry and peſtilent Air, which drawn in, infected their Bodies. But the chief cauſe was the change of their natural Climate, coming out of ſhady and hilly Countries, which afforded pleaſant retirements and ſhelter from the heat, to lodg in low and champion Grounds, naturally unhealthful in the Autumn Seaſon. Another thing which broke their Spirits, was the length and tedioufneſs of the Siege (for they had now ſat ſeven Months before the Capitol) inſomuch, that there was vaſt deſolation among them; and the number of the dead grown ſo great, that the living ſcarce ſufficed to bury them. Neither were things any better with the Beſieged, for Famine encreaſed upon them; and not knowing what *Camillus* did, they remained in a languiſhing and deſponding condition; for it was impoſſible to ſend any to him, the City was ſo narrowly guarded by the *Barbarians*. Things being in this ſad condition on both ſides, it came to paſs that a motion of Treaty was made by ſome of the Fore-guards, as they happened to diſcourſe with one another; which being embraced by the better ſort, *Sulpicius*, Tribune of the *Romans*, came to parley with *Brennus*; where it was agreed, that the *Romans* laying down a thouſand weight of Gold, the *Gauls* upon the receipt of it ſhould immediately quit the City and Territories. The agreement

Through the equal neceſſity on both ſides, a Treaty is agreed to.

agreement being confirmed by Oath on both ſides, and the Gold brought forth, the *Gauls* uſed falſe dealing in the Weights, firſt privily, afterwards openly, pulling back the ballance and violently turning it: at which the *Romans* being moved, and complaining, *Brennus* in a ſcoffing and inſulting manner pull'd off his Sword and Belt, and threw them both into the Scales; and when *Sulpicius* asked, what that meant, What ſhould it mean (ſays he) but *Wo to the conquered?* which afterwards became a proverbial Saying. As for the *Romans*, ſome were ſo incenſed, that they were for taking their Gold back again, and returning, and with reſolution to endure the uttermoſt extremities of the Siege. Others were for paſſing by and diſſembling a petty injury, and not to account that the indignity of the thing lay in paying more than was due, but the paying any thing at all; which ſtood not with their Honour to have done, had not the neceſſity of the times made them yield unto it. Whilſt this difference was amongſt themſelves, and with the *Gauls*, *Camillus* was at the Gates; and having learned what had paſſed, he commanded the body of his Forces to follow ſlowly after him in good order, and himſelf, with the choiceſt of his Men haſtning on, went preſently to the *Romans*. Where all giving way to him, and receiving him as their

Camillus *ſurpriſes the City.*

their ſole Magiſtrate, with profound ſilence and order, he took the Gold out of the Scales, and delivered it to his Officers, and commanded the *Gauls* to take their Weights and Scales and depart, ſaying, that *it was cuſtomary with the* Romans *to deliver their Country with Iron, not with Gold.* And when *Brennus* began to rage and ſay, that he had injury done him in breaking the Contract; *Camillus* anſwered, that it was never legally made, and the agreements of no force or obligation at all; for that himſelf being declared Dictator, and there being no other Magiſtrate by Law, he had contracted with thoſe who had no Power to do it: But now they might uſe their own diſcretion, for he was come as abſolute Lord by Law, to grant Pardon to ſuch as ſhould ask it, or inflict Puniſhment on thoſe who had been Authors of theſe diſturbances, if they did not repent. At this *Brennus* flew out into rage, and it came to a preſent quarrel; both ſides drawing their Swords, and vigorouſly aſſaulting each other, being mixed in confuſion together, as could not otherwiſe be amongſt the ruins of Houſes and narrow Lanes, and ſuch Places where it was impoſſible to draw up in any order. But *Brennus* preſently recollecting himſelf, called off his Men, and with the loſs of a few only, brought them to their Camp; and riſing

Brennus *ſecretly withdraws from* Rome.

in the night with all his Forces, left the City; and going on about eight Miles, encamped upon the *Gabinian* way. As ſoon as day appeared, *Camillus* came up with him, excellently provided, and his Soldiers full of courage and confidence: and there engaging with him in a ſharp Fight, and which laſted a long while, he overthrew his Army with great ſlaughter, and took their Camp. Of thoſe that fled, ſome were preſently cut off by the Purſuers: others, of whom was the greateſt number, being ſcattered here and there, the People of the Villages and neighbouring Cities came running out and diſpatched them. Thus *Rome* was ſtrangely taken, and more ſtrangely recovered; having been ſeven whole months in the poſſeſſion of the *Barbarians*, who entered her about the fifteenth day of *July*, and were driven out about the fourteenth of *February* following. *Camillus* Triumphed, as he deſerved, having ſaved his Country that was loſt; and brought the City back again to it ſelf. For they that had lived abroad, together with their Wives and Children, accompanied him in his Triumph; and they who had been ſhut up in the Capitol, and were reduc'd almoſt to the point of periſhing with hunger, went out to meet him, imbracing each other, and weeping for joy; and thro the exceſs of the preſent pleaſure, ſcarce believ-

Is utterly defeated by Camillus.

ing

ing the truth of their Deliverance. But when the Prieſts and Miniſters of the Gods appeared, bearing thoſe ſacred Relicks, which in their flight they had either hid there, or conveyed away with them, and now openly ſhewed that they were preſerved, it yielded a moſt joyful and deſirable ſpectacle to the Citizens, who took it, as if with them the Gods themſelves were again returned unto *Rome*. After *Camillus* had ſacrificed to the Gods, and purged the City, the Prieſts leading the Proceſſion, and performing the cuſtomary Ceremonies, he reſtored the preſent Temples, and erected a new one to the God, called the *Speaker* or *Caller*, chuſing the very ſame Place in which that Voice from Heaven came by night to *Marcus Cedicius*, foretelling the coming of the *Barbarian* Army. It was a buſineſs of great difficulty, and an exceeding hard task, amidſt ſo much Rubbiſh, to diſcover and ſet out the conſecrated places; but by the unwearied diligence of *Camillus*, and the inceſſant labour of the Prieſts, it was at laſt accompliſhed. But when the buſineſs came to the rebuilding the City, which was wholly demoliſhed, an heartleſs deſpondency ſeized the Multitude, and a backwardneſs to the work, as thoſe who wanted all neceſſary materials, and had more need of ſome refreſhment and reſt from their labours, than to toil

Camillus *by what induced to found a new Temple.*

and

and wear out themſelves already broken both in Body and Fortunes. Thus by leiſure they turned their thoughts again towards *Veii*, a City ready built, and excellently provided of all things; which gave occaſion to many who ſought to be popular, by following and nouriſhing the Humour, to raiſe new Tumults: and many ſeditious Words were flung out againſt *Camillus*; That out of Ambition and Self-glory he with-held them from a City fit to receive them, forcing them to live in the midſt of Ruins, and to raiſe ſuch a pile of Rubbiſh, that he might be eſteemed not the chief Magiſtrate only and General of *Rome*, but (ſetting *Romulus* aſide) the Founder alſo. The Senate therefore, fearing a Sedition, would not ſuffer *Camillus*, tho deſirous, to lay down his Authority within the Year, tho no other Dictator had ever held it above ſix Months.

He is maligned, and why.

Beſides, they endeavoured by kind Perſuaſions and familiar Addreſſes to appeaſe and ſweeten their Minds, and chear up their Spirits. Sometimes they would lead them to the Monuments and Tombs of their Anceſtors, often calling to their remembrance the ſacred Oratories and holy Places which *Romulus* and *Numa*, or any other of their Kings had conſecrated and left unto them; but among the chief of their holy Relicks, they ſet before them that freſh and raw

The perſuaſions of the Senators unſucceſsful to the rebuilding of the City.

raw Head which was found in laying the foundation of the Capitol, as a Place deſtin'd by Fate to be the Head of all *Italy*. What a ſhame would it be to them, by forſaking the City, to loſe and extinguiſh that holy Fire, which ſince the War was re-kindled by the *Veſtal Virgins*, to ſee the City it ſelf either inhahited by Foreigners and Strangers, or left a wild Paſture for Cattel to graze on? Such reaſons as theſe, mixt with Complaints and Intreaties, they uſed with the People; ſometimes in private, taking them ſingly one by one; and ſometimes in their publick Aſſemblies. But ſtill they were afreſh aſſaulted by the outcries of the Multitude, proteſting and bewailing their preſent wants and inability; beſeeching them, that ſeeing they were juſt met together, as from a Shipwreck, naked and deſtitute, they would not conſtrain them to patch up the pieces of a ruin'd and ſhattered City, when they had another at hand ready built and prepared. *Camillus* thought good to refer it to the Senate; and he himſelf diſcourſed largely and earneſtly in behalf of his Country, as likewiſe did many others. At laſt, calling to *Lucius Lucretius*, whoſe Place was firſt to ſpeak, he commanded him to give his Sentence, and the reſt as they followed in order. Silence being made, and *Lucretius* juſt about to begin, by chance a Captain without, paſſing by the

A remarkable inſtance of the inclination of the Romans *to Superſtition.*

the Senate-House, and leading his Company of the Day-guard, called out with a loud voice to the Ensign-bearer, to *stay* and *fix his Standard*; for *that was the best Place to stay in.* This Voice coming in that nick of time, was taken as a direction what was to be done; so that *Lucretius* embracing the Omen, and adoring the Gods, gave his Sentence for staying, as likewise did all the rest that followed. Even among the common People it wrought a wonderful change of affection, every one heartning and encouraging his Neighbour, and setting himself chearfully to the work; proceeding not in any regular lines or proportions, but every one pitching upon that plot of ground which came next to hand, or best pleased his fancy; by which haste and hurry in building, they raised the City with narrow and intricate Lanes, and Houses huddled together one upon the back of another: For it is said, that within the compass of the year, the whole City was raised up anew, both in its publick Walls, and private Buildings. But the Persons appointed by *Camillus* to recover and set out the consecrated Places, in that great confusion of all things, searching about the *Palatium*, and coming to that Place which is called *Mars*'s *Close*, it happened, that whilst they were clearing the Place, and carrying away the rubbish, they lit upon *Romulus* his *magick Staff*,

Rome confusedly rebuilt.

Staff, buried under great and deep heaps of Aſhes. This Staff is crooked at one end, and is called *Lituus*. They make uſe of this *Lituus* in quartering out the Regions of the Heavens, when they are upon that ſort of Divination which is made by the flight of Birds; which *Romulus* himſelf alſo made uſe of, being moſt excellently skilled in Augury.

But when he diſappeared from among Men, the Prieſts took the Staff, and kept it as other holy things, not to be touched or defiled. Now when they found that, whereas all other things were conſumed, this Staff was not in the leaſt periſhed by the flames, they began to conceive joyful hopes concerning *Rome*, that this Token did portend the everlaſting Safety and Proſperity of it.

The Romans *at the ſame time invaded by the* Æqui, Volſci, Latins *and* Tuſcans.

And now they had ſcarce got a breathing time from their troubles, but a new War comes upon them: the *Æqui*, *Volſci* and *Latins* all at once invade their Territories; and the *Tuſcans* beſiege *Sutrium* a confederate City of the *Romans*. The *Military Tribunes*, who commanded the Army, and were encamped about the Hill *Martius*, being cloſely beſieged by the *Latins*, and the Camp in danger to be loſt, ſend to *Rome*, and *Camillus* is third time choſen Dictator. About this War there are two different Relations; I ſhall begin with the fabulous:

They ſay that the *Latins* (whether out of pretence, or real deſign to re-unite the antient Blood of both Nations) ſhould ſend to deſire of the *Romans* ſome of their free Maids in Marriage: That the *Romans* being at a loſs what to determine, (for on one hand they dreaded a War, having ſcarce ſettled and recovered themſelves; on the other ſide they ſuſpected that this asking of Wives was in plain terms nothing elſe but to gain Hoſtages, tho he covered it over with the ſpecious name of Marriage and Alliance) a certain Handmaid, by name *Tutula*, or as ſome call her *Philotis*, ſhould perſuade the Magiſtrates to ſend with her ſome of the moſt youthful and beautiful Damſels in the garb and dreſs of noble Virgins, and leave the reſt to her care and management; that the Magiſtrates conſenting ſhould chuſe out as many as ſhe thought neceſſary for her purpoſe, and adorning them with Gold and rich Clothes, deliver them to the *Latins*, who encamped nigh the City: That at night the reſt ſhould ſteal away the Enemies Swords, but *Tutula* or *Philotis* (which you pleaſe) getting to the top of a wild Fig-tree, and ſpreading out a thick Garment behind her, ſhould hold out a Torch towards *Rome*, which was the ſignal agreed on between her and the Commanders, none other of the Citizens perceiving it; which was the reaſon that the iſſuing

Tutula's *ſtratagem againſt the* Latins.

iſſuing out of the Soldiers was tumultuous, the Officers puſhing their Men on, and they calling upon one anothers names, and ſcarce able to bring themſelves into any order: That ſetting upon the Enemies Works, who either were aſleep or expected no ſuch matter, they ſhould take the Camp, and deſtroy moſt of them: and that this was done in the Nones of *July*, which was then called *Quintilis*; and that the Feaſt that is then obſerved, is in remembrance of this Action; for firſt running out of the City in great crouds, they pronounce aloud the moſt familiar and uſual names, as *Caius*, *Marcus*, *Lucius*, and the like, imitating thereby that calling to one another when they iſſued out in ſuch haſte. In the next Place the Maid-Servants richly adorned, run about playing and jeſting upon all they meet, and amongſt themſelves uſe a kind of skirmiſhing, to ſhew they helped in the conflict againſt the *Latins*. In the time of their feaſting they ſit ſhaded over with Boughs of wild Fig-tree, and the day they call *Nonæ Capratinæ*, as ſome think, from that wild Fig-tree, on which the Maiden held out her Torch, for the *Romans* call a wild Fig-tree *Caprificus*. Others refer moſt of what is ſaid or done at this Feaſt, to that accident of *Romulus*; for on this day without the Gate he vaniſhed out of ſight, a ſudden darkneſs, together with tempeſt, overcloud-

ing him (ſome think it an Eclipſe of the Sun) and for this reaſon the day was called *Nonæ Capratinæ*, for they call a Goat *Capra*: and *Romulus* diſappeared at a Place called *Palus Capræ*, or *Goats-Marſh*, whilſt he was holding there an Aſſembly, as in his Life it is written. But the general ſtream of Writers prefer the other account of this War, which they thus relate. *Camillus* being the third time choſen Dictator, and learning that the Army under the *Tribunes* was beſieged by the *Latins* and *Volſci*, he was conſtrained to arm, not only the Youth, but even ſuch as Age exempted from ſervice; and taking a large compaſs round the Mountain *Martius*, undiſcovered by the Enemy, he lodged his Army on their back, and then by many fires gave notice of his arrival. The beſieged encouraged herewith, prepared to fall on and join Battel; but the *Latins* and *Volſci*, fearing their Enemy on both ſides, drew themſelves within their Works, which they fortified with many Trees laid croſs-wiſe, and drove into the ground, and ſo round their Camp drew a wall of Wood; reſolving to wait for more ſupplies from home, and expect the aſſiſtance of the *Tuſcans* their Confederates. *Camillus* perceiving their drift, and fearing to be reduced to the ſame ſtraits he had brought them to, namely, to be beſieged himſelf, reſolved to

Nonæ Capratinæ, *whence ſo ſtiled.*

An eminent Example of prudent military conduct in Camillus.

to loſe no time; and finding their Rampart was all of Timber, and obſerving that a ſtrong wind conſtantly at Sun-riſing blew off from the Mountains, after having prepared much combuſtible ſtuff, about break of day he drew forth his Forces; ſome of which he commanded to take their Darts, and with noiſe and ſhouting aſſault the Enemy on the other quarter, whilſt he with thoſe that were to fling in the Fire, went to that ſide of the Enemies Camp on which the wind lay directly, and there waited his opportunity. When the skirmiſh was begun, and the Sun riſen, and a violent wind fell down from the Mountains, he gave the ſignal of onſet; and pouring in an infinite quantity of fiery matter, he filled all their Rampart with it, ſo that the flame being fed in the cloſe Timber and wooden Palliſadoes, it went on and diſperſed it ſelf into all Quarters. The *Latins* having nothing ready to keep it off or extinguiſh it, the Camp being almoſt full of Fire, were reduced to a very ſmall compaſs, and at laſt forced by neceſſity to fall into their Enemies hand, who ſtood before the Works ready armed and prepared to receive them; of theſe a very few eſcaped, but thoſe that ſtayed in the Camp were all conſumed by the Fire, until ſuch time the *Romans*, to gain the Pillage, extinguiſhed it. Theſe things performed, *Camillus*, leaving his

Son *Lucius* in the Camp to guard the Priſoners and ſecure the Booty, paſſed into his Enemies Country; where having taken the City of the *Æqui*, and reduc'd the *Volſci* to obedience, he immediately led his Army to *Sutrium* (having not heard what had befallen the *Sutrians*) making haſte to aſſiſt them, as if they were ſtill in danger, and beſieged by the *Tuſcans*. But they had already ſurrendred their City to their Enemies; and being deſtitute of all things, with their Garments only about them, they met *Camillus* on the way, leading their Wives and Children, and bewailing their misfortune. *Camillus* himſelf was ſtruck with the object, and perceiving the *Romans* to weep, and grievouſly reſent their caſe, (the *Sutrians* hanging on them) reſolved not to defer revenge, but that very day tolead his Army to *Sutrium*: Conjecturing that the Enemy, having juſt taken a rich and plentiful City, and not left an Enemy within it, nor expecting any from without, he ſhould find them wallowing in all Riot and Luxury, open and unguarded. Neither did this opinion fail him, for he not only paſs'd thro their Country without diſcovery, but came up to their very Gates, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the Walls; there was not a Man left to guard them, but every one was ſcattered about from Houſe to Houſe, drinking and making

He reduces the Æqui *and* Volſci.

Sutrium *re-taken by* Camillus.

making merry: nay, when at laſt they did perceive that the Enemy had ſeized the City, they were ſo overcharged with Meat and Wine, that few were able ſo much as to endeavour an eſcape; but in the moſt ſhameful poſture either waited for their Death within doors, or if they were able to carry themſelves, ſubmitted to the will of the Conqueror. Thus the City of the *Sutrians* was twice taken in one day; and it came to paſs, that they who were in poſſeſſion loſt it, and they who had loſt their poſſeſſion gained it again by the means of *Camillus*; for all which Actions he received a Triumph, which brought him no leſs honour and reputation than both the former: for thoſe very Citizens, who before moſt envied and detracted from him, aſcribing the reſt of his Succeſſes to a certain hit of Fortune rather than ſteddy Virtue, were compelled by theſe laſt Acts of his to allow the whole Honour to the great abilities and *induſtry* of the Man.

δεινότητι τῆ δραστηρίῳ.

Of all his Adverſaries and Enviers of his Glory, *Marcus Manlius* was the moſt conſiderable; he who gave the firſt repulſe to the *Gauls*, and drove them out that Night they ſet upon the Capitol, for which he was ſirnamed *Capitolinus*. This Man affecting the firſt Place in the Commonwealth, and not able by the nobleſt ways to out-do *Camillus*'s Reputation, took the trite

Marcus Manlius *by indirect means aſpires to the Government.*

trite and uſual methods of Tyranny, namely, to gain the Multitude, eſpecially ſuch as were in debt; ſome he would defend againſt their Creditors and plead their Cauſes, others reſcue by force, and not ſuffer the Law to proceed againſt them: inſomuch that in a ſhort time he had gotten great numbers of indigent People about him; who making tumults and uproars in the Courts, ſtruck great terror into the principal Citizens. After that *Quintus Capitolinus*, who was made Dictator to examine into theſe Diſorders, had committed *Manlius* to Priſon, the People immediately changed their Apparel, a thing never done but in great and publick Calamities. The Senate fearing ſome tumult, ordered him to be releaſed, who ſet at liberty was never the better, but rather more inſolent in his practices, filling the whole City with his Faction and Sedition. Wherefore they choſe *Camillus* again *Military Tribune*; and a day being ſet for *Manlius* to anſwer to his charge, the proſpect of the Place was a great hindrance to his Accuſers: for the very Place where *Manlius* by Night fought with the *Gauls*, over-look'd the Court from the Capitol; ſo that ſtretching forth his hands that way, and weeping, he called to their remembrance his paſt Actions, raiſing compaſſion in all that beheld him. Inſomuch that the Judges were at a loſs what

Circumſtances many times extreamly prejudicial to the execution of Juſtice.

to

to do, and ſeveral times forced to adjourn the Trial, not willing to acquit him of the Crime, proved by manifeſt Circumſtances, and yet unable to execute the Law, that noble Action of his being always in their Eyes by reaſon of the Place. *Camillus* conſidering this, removed the Judgment Seat out of the Gate to the *Peteline* Grove, from whence there is no proſpect of the Capitol. Here his Accuſer went on with his Charge, and the Judges being now at liberty to conſider of his late Practices, he received a juſt recompence and reward of his wicked Actions; for being carried to the Capitol, he was flung headlong from the Rock, having the ſame Place witneſs of his greateſt Glory, and monument of his moſt unfortunate End. The *Romans* beſides razed his Houſe, and built there a Temple to the Goddeſs they call *Moneta*; ordaining for the future that none of the Patrician Order ſhould ever dwell in the Capitol Mount.

Camillus, tho unwilling, choſen the ſixth time Tribune.

And now *Camillus* being called to the ſixth *Tribuneſhip*, deſired to be excuſed, as being aged, and perhaps not unjealous of the malice of Fortune, and thoſe unlucky changes which uſually attend great and proſperous Actions. But the moſt apparent pretence was the weakneſs of his Body, for he happened at that time to be ſick, but the People would admit of no excuſes; yet crying that they wanted not his Strength for

for Horſe or for Foot ſervice, but only his Counſel and Conduct, they conſtrained him to undertake the Command, and with one of his fellow *Tribunes* to lead the Army immediately againſt the Enemy. Theſe were the *Præneſtines* and *Volſci*, who with great Forces waſted the Countries of the *Roman* Confederates. Having march'd out his Army, he ſat down and encamped near the Enemy, meaning himſelf to draw out the War in length, or if there ſhould be neceſſity or occaſion of fighting, in the mean time to ſtrengthen his Body for it. But *Lucius* his Collegue, carried away with the deſire of Glory, was not to be held in; but impatient to give Battel, inflamed with the ſame eagerneſs the Captains and Colonels of the Army: ſo that *Camillus* fearing he might ſeem out of envy to rob the young Men of the Glory of a notable Exploit, gave way, tho unwillingly, that he ſhould draw out the Forces, whilſt himſelf, by reaſon of weakneſs, ſtaid behind with a few in the Camp. *Lucius* engaging raſhly and headily was ſoon diſcomfited, when *Camillus* perceiving the *Romans* to give Ground and fly, he could not contain himſelf, but leaping from his bed, with thoſe Servants and Retinue he had about him, ran to meet them at the Gates of the Camp: and making his way thro them that fled, he drove furiouſly to oppoſe the Purſuers; inſo-

Lucius's *inconſiderate engagement retrieved by* Camillus.

inſomuch that thoſe who were girt within the Camp preſently turned back and followed him, and thoſe that came flying from without, made Head again, and gathered about him, exhorting one another not to forſake their General. Thus the Enemy for that time was ſtop'd in his purſuit. But the next Day *Camillus* drawing out his Forces and joining Battel with them, overthrew them by main force, and following cloſe upon them that fled, he entered Pell-mell with them into their Camp, and took it, ſlaying the greateſt part of them. Afterwards having heard that the City *Sutrium* was taken by the *Tuſcans*, and the Inhabitants, all *Romans*, put to the Sword, the main Body of his Forces, and heavieſt arm'd, he ſent home to *Rome*; and taking with him the lighteſt and beſt appointed Soldiers, he ſet ſuddenly upon the *Tuſcans*, who were in the Poſſeſſion of the City, and having maſter'd them, ſome he drove out, others he ſlew. And ſo returning to *Rome* with great Spoils, he gave a ſignal evidence, that in point of Wiſdom they were chiefly to be preferred, who not miſtruſting the Weakneſs and Age of a Commander endued with Courage and Conduct, had rather choſen him who was ſickly, and deſirous to be excuſed, than younger Men who were forward and ambitious to command. Wherefore when the revolt of the

Prudence in a Commander preferable to raſh Valour.

Tuſculans

Tuſculans was reported, they gave *Camillus* the charge of reducing them, chuſing one of his five Collegues to go with him. And now when every one of them put in earneſtly for the Place, contrary to the expectation of all, he paſt by the reſt, and choſe *Lucius Furius*, the very ſame Man, who againſt the judgment of *Camillus*, by raſhly hazarding a Battel, had brought things to a dangerous and almoſt deſperate condition; willing, as it ſhould ſeem, to hide and diſſemble that miſcarriage, and divert the ſhame. The *Tuſculans* hearing of *Camillus*'s coming againſt them, ſought cunningly to turn off the ſuſpicion of their Revolt. Their Fields, as in times of higheſt Peace, were full of Plowmen and Shepherds; their Gates ſtood wide open, and their Children went publickly to School: as for the People, ſuch as were Tradeſmen, he found them in their Shops, buſied about their ſeveral Employments; and the better ſort of Citizens walking in the publick Places, in their uſual Gowns and Formalities: The Magiſtrates were diligent and officious in running about and providing Quarters for the *Romans*, as if they ſtood in fear of no danger, and as tho they had committed no fault at all. Which Arts, tho they could not drive out of *Camillus* the certain opinion he had of their Treaſon, yet wrought in him a certain compaſſion for their

The Tuſculans their politick diſſimulation.

their Repentance; ſo that he commanded them to go to the Senate and atone their anger, and himſelf became Interceſſor in their behalf: inſomuch that their City was acquitted of all Offences, and admitted to the freedom and privileges of *Rome*. Theſe were the moſt memorable Actions of his ſixth *Tribuneſhip*.

A dangerous Faction at Rome headed by Licinius Stolo.

After theſe things *Licinius Stolo* raiſed a great Sedition in the City, by which the People fell to diſſenſion with the Senate, earneſtly contending that of two Conſuls one ſhould be choſen out of the Commons, and not both out of the Nobility. *Tribunes of the People* were choſen, but the multitude violently oppoſed the election of Conſuls. Things thro this diſſenſion running into great diſorder, *Camillus* was a fourth time created Dictator by the Senate, ſore againſt the will of the People; neither was he himſelf very forward to accept it, as being unwilling to oppoſe his Authority againſt thoſe, who in many and great conflicts, had repoſed ſingular truſt and confidence in him, and with whom he had done more things in military Affairs, than ever he had tranſacted with the Nobility in civil: that now he was pitch'd upon out of envy, that prevailing he might ſuppreſs the People; or failing, be ſuppreſt himſelf. However, to provide as good a remedy as he could for the preſent; knowing the day on which the *Tribunes of the People* intended to prefer the Law, at the

ſame

ſame time he proclaimed a general Muſter, and called the People from the Market-place into the Field, threatning to ſet heavy Fines upon ſuch as ſhould not readily obey. On the other ſide, the *Tribunes of the People* oppoſed themſelves to his Threats, ſolemnly proteſting to fine him in 50000 Drachmas of Silver, if he perſiſted to hinder the People in giving their Suffrages for the Law. Wherefore, either that he feared another Baniſhment or Condemnation, as not agreeable to his Age, and misbecoming thoſe great Actions he had performed, or finding himſelf not able to ſtem the Current of the Multitude, which ran with a ſtrong and irreſiſtible force, for the preſent he betook himſelf to his Houſe, and afterwards for ſome days together pretending Indiſpoſition of Body, laid down his Dictatorſhip, and the Senate created another Dictator; who chuſing *Stolo*, leader of this Sedition, to be *General of Horſe*, ſuffered that Law to take place, which was moſt grievous to the Nobility, namely, that no Perſon whatſoever ſhould poſſeſs above 500 Acres of Land. *Stolo* exceedingly triumphed in the Conqueſt he had gained, till not long after, he was found himſelf to poſſeſs more than he allowed to others, and ſo ſuffered the Penalties of his own Law. And now the Contention about Election of Conſuls coming on (which of all other Diſſenſions

Camillus under bad Circumſtances, reſigns the Dictatorſhip.

was

was the ſharpeſt, and from its firſt beginning had adminiſtred moſt Matter of Diviſion betwen the Senate and the People) certain Intelligence arrives that the *Gauls* again proceeding from the *Adriatick* Sea, marched directly towards *Rome*, and upon the very Heels of the Report manifeſt Acts of Hoſtility are related; that the Country thro which they marched was all waſted, and ſuch as by Flight could not make their eſcape to *Rome*, were diſperſed and ſcattered among the Mountains. The Terror of this War quieted the Sedition, ſo that the Nobility conferring with the Commons, and both joining Counſels unanimouſly, choſe *Camillus* the fifth time Dictator, who, tho very antient, as not wanting much of fourſcore Years, yet conſidering the Danger and Neceſſity of his Country, did not, as before, pretend Sickneſs or other Excuſe, but readily undertook the Charge, and liſted his Soldiers: And knowing that the force of the *Barbarians* lay chiefly in their Swords, with which they laid about them in a rude and unskilful manner, hacking and hewing the Head and Shoulders; he cauſed Iron Murrions to be made for moſt of his Men, ſmoothing and poliſhing the outſide, that the Enemies Swords lighting upon them might either ſlide off, or be broken; and round about their Shields he drew a little rim of Braſs, the Wood it ſelf being not ſufficient to bear off the Blows. Beſides,

The ſecond Invaſion of the Gauls.

Camillus's *extraordinary Proviſions for the War.*

he taught his Soldiers in cloſe engaging, to uſe long Javelins, or punchion Staves, which holding under their Enemies Swords, would receive the force and violence of them. When the *Gauls* drew nigh about the River *Anien*, dragging a heavy Camp after them, and loaden with infinite Spoil, *Camillus* drew forth his Forces, and planted himſelf upon a Hill of eaſy aſcent, and which had many hollow places in it, to the end that the greateſt part of his Army might be concealed, and thoſe few which appeared might be thought thro Fear to have betaken themſelves to thoſe upper Grounds. And the more to encreaſe this Opinion in them, he ſuffered them without any diſturbance to ſpoil and pillage even to his very Trenches, keeping himſelf quiet within his Works, which were well fortified on all ſides: At laſt, perceiving that part of the Enemy were ſcattered about the Country a foraging, and having advice that thoſe that were in the Camp did nothing day and night but drink and revel, in the night-time he drew forth his lighteſt-arm'd Men, and ſent them before to obſerve and watch the Enemy, and to be ready to hinder them from drawing into Order, and to vex and diſcompoſe them when they ſhould firſt iſſue out of their Trenches; and early in the Morning, he brought down his main Body, and ſet them in Battel-array in the lower

lower Grounds, being a numerous and courageous Army; whereas the *Barbarians* had taken them for an inconſiderable and fearful Party. The firſt thing that abated the Pride and Courage of the *Gauls*, was, that they were to fight when they leaſt expected it, and that their Enemies had the Honour of being Aggreſſors. In the next place, the light-arm'd Men falling upon them before they could get into their uſual Order, or range themſelves in their proper Squadrons, did ſo force and preſs upon them, that they were obliged to fight confuſedly and at random without any Diſcipline at all. But at laſt, when *Camillus* brought on his heavy-arm'd Legions, the *Barbarians* with their Swords drawn, went vigorouſly to engage them; but the *Romans* oppoſing with their Javelins, and receiving the force of their Blows on that part of their Shield which was well guarded with Steel, they turned the Edge of their Weapons, being made of a ſoft and ill-tempered Metal, inſomuch that their Swords immediately bent in their hands, and ſtood crooked to the Hilts: as for their Bucklers, they were pierced through and through, and grown ſo heavy with the Javelins that ſtuck upon them, that forced to quit their own Weapons, they endeavoured to make advantage of thoſe of their Enemies; ſo that gathering up the Javelins in their hands, they

The Gauls *upon two accounts diſheartned.*

began to return them upon the *Romans*. But the *Romans* perceiving them naked and unarm'd, preſently betook themſelves to their Swords, which they ſo well uſed, that in a little time great Slaughter was made in the foremoſt Ranks, and the reſt of them fled, diſperſing themſelves all over the Champion Country; for as for the Hills and upper Grounds, *Camillus* had beforehand poſſeſſed himſelf of them, and they knew it would not be difficult for the Enemy to take their Camp, ſeeing thro Confidence of Victory they had left it unguarded. They ſay this Fight was thirteen years after the ſacking of *Rome*, and that from henceforward the *Romans* took Courage, and laid aſide thoſe diſmal Apprehenſions they had conceived of the *Barbarians*; thinking now that their firſt Defeat was rather the effect of Sickneſs, and the ſtrange concurrence of evil Chances, than the ſteady Courage or true Force of their Enemy. And indeed this Fear had been formerly ſo great, that they made a Law, *That Prieſts ſhould be excuſed from War-like Service, unleſs in an Invaſion from the* Gauls. This was the laſt Military Action that ever *Camillus* performed; for as for the City of the *Velitrani*, it was but a by Acceſſion to this Victory, it being ſurrendred unto him without any reſiſtance. But the greateſt Contention in Civil Affairs, and the hardeſt to

They are vanquiſh'd by the Romans.

be managed againſt the People, was ſtill remaining; for they returning home full of Victory and Succeſs, violently inſiſted, contrary to the antient Cuſtom, to have one of the Conſuls choſen out of their own Body. The Senate ſtrongly oppoſed it, and would not ſuffer *Camillus* to lay down his Dictatorſhip, thinking that under the ſhelter of his great Name and Authority they ſhould be abler to contend for the Power of the Nobility. When *Camillus* was ſitting upon the Tribunal, diſpatching publick Affairs, an Officer ſent by the *Tribunes of the People*, commanded him to riſe and follow him, laying his Hand upon him, as ready to ſeize and carry him away; upon which ſuch a noiſe and tumult followed in the Aſſembly, the like was never heard of before: ſome that were about *Camillus* thruſting the People from the Bench, and the multitude below calling out to pull him down. Being at a loſs what to do in this exigency of Affairs, he laid not down his Authority, but taking the Senators along with him, he went to the Senate-Houſe; but before he entred, he beſought the Gods that they would bring theſe Troubles to a happy concluſion, ſolemnly vowing, when the Tumult was ended, to build a Temple to *Concord*. A great Conteſt ariſing in the Senate, by reaſon of contrary Opinions, at laſt the moſt moderate

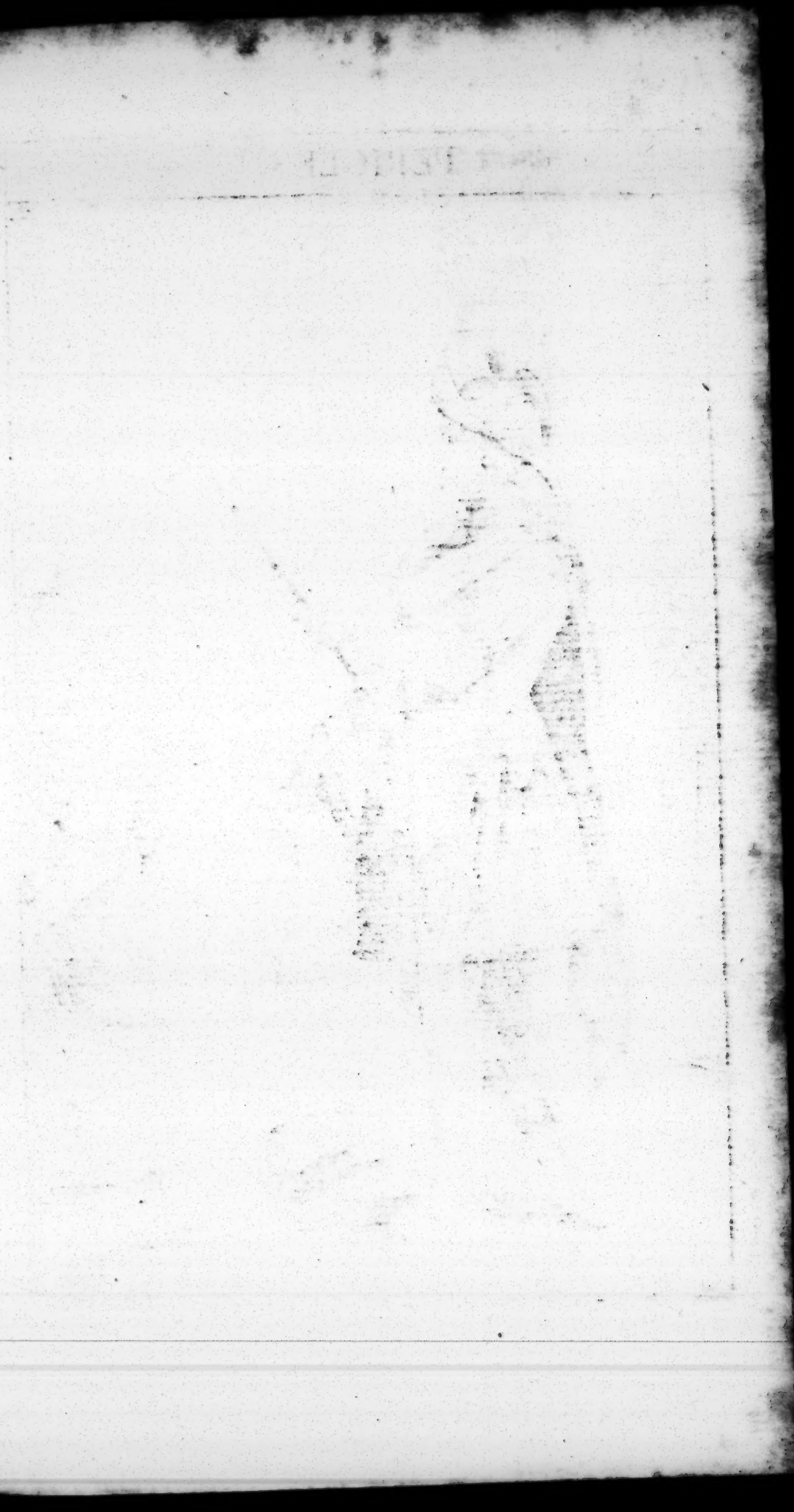
The Tribunes their rude Deportment towards Camillus.

and agreeable to the People prevailed, which yielded, that of two Conſuls, one of them ſhould be choſen of the Commonalty. When the Dictator had proclaim'd this Determination of the Senate to the People, they were immediately (as it could not otherwiſe be) pleaſed and reconciled with the Senate; and for *Camillus*, they accompanied him home, with all the Expreſſions and Acclamations of Joy: and the next Day being aſſembled together, they voted a Temple of *Concord* to be built according to *Camillus* his Vow, facing the Aſſembly and Market-place; and to thoſe Feaſts which are called *Latins*, they added one Day more, making them four Feſtivals in all; and for the preſent they ordained that the whole People of *Rome* ſhould ſacrifice with Garlands on their Heads. In the Election of Conſuls held by *Camillus*, *M. Emilius* was choſen of the Nobility, and *Lucius Sextius* the firſt of the Commonalty; and this was the laſt of all *Camillus*'s Actions. In the Year following a peſtilential Sickneſs infected *Rome*, which beſides an infinite number of the common ſort, ſwept away moſt of the Magiſtrates, among whom was *Camillus*. Whoſe Death cannot be called immature, if we conſider his great Age, or greater Actions; yet was he more lamented than all the reſt put together, who then died of that Diſtemper.

The Temple of Concord *why and when firſt erected.*

The End of Camillus's *Life.*

THE



PERICLES.

Collins. sculp.

THE

LIFE

OF

PERICLES.

Tranſlated from the Greek,
By *Adam Littleton*, D. D.

Cæſar on a time ſeeing belike ſome Strangers at *Rome*, who were People of Quality, carrying up and down with them in their Arms and Boſoms young Puppy-dogs and Monkeys, and hugging and making much of them, took occaſion to ask, whether the Women in their Country were not uſed to bear Children; by that Prince-like Reprimand gravely reflecting upon ſuch Perſons, who ſpend and laviſh that Affection and Kindneſs, which Nature hath implanted in us, upon brute Beaſts, which is due and owing to *A Moral Introduction.*

Human Creatures, thoſe of our own kind. Now inaſmuch even as the Whelps and Cubs of Dogs and Apes have a kind of Inclination to Learning and Knowledg, and love to look about them, and to take notice of things, the Soul of Man hath by Nature a higher principle of Reaſon, ſo as to find fault with thoſe who make ill uſe of that Inclination and Deſire, upon idle Diſcourſes and Sights that merit no regard, while in the mean time they careleſly paſs by good and profitable things of that ſort.

The Advantage of Underſtanding above Senſe.

For indeed as to the outward *Senſe*, that being paſſive in receiving the Impreſſion of thoſe Objects that come in its way and ſtrike upon it, it is peradventure neceſſary for it (*the Senſe*) to entertain and take notice of every thing that appears to it, be it what it will, uſeful or unuſeful; but every Man, if he will make uſe of his *Underſtanding*, hath a natural Power to turn himſelf upon all occaſions, and to change and ſhift with the greateſt eaſe to what ſhall ſeem to himſelf moſt fit. So that a Man ought to purſue and make after the beſt and choiceſt of every thing, that he may not only imploy his Contemplation, but may alſo be nouriſhed and improved by it. For as that Colour is moſt grateful and agreeable to the *Eye*, whoſe lively Freſhneſs together with its Pleaſure and Delightfulneſs revives and cheriſhes the Sight; ſo a Man ought to apply

apply his Mind and Reaſoning to ſuch Objects and Notices, as with Delight are apt to call it forth, and allure it to its own proper good and peculiar advantage.

The Hiſtory of virtuous Actions raiſeth an Emulation to do the like.

Now theſe Objects and Notices are to be met with in thoſe Works and Performances which proceed from *Virtue*, which do alſo infuſe and beget in the Minds of Readers, whilſt they converſe with the bare Stories and Narratives of them, a kind of Emulation and forward Chearfulneſs, which may lead them along and draw them on to an Imitation. Foraſmuch as in other things of another nature there doth not immediately follow, upon the admiration and liking of the thing done, any ſtrong deſire of doing the like. Nay many times on the very contrary, when we are pleaſed with the Work, we ſlight and ſet little by the Workman or Artiſt himſelf; as for inſtance, in Perfumes and Purple-dyes, we are taken with the things themſelves well enough, but we look but meanly upon Dyers and Perfumers, as a ſort of pitiful Tradeſmen and ſorry Mechanicks. Whereupon it was not amiſs ſaid by *Antiſthenes*, when People told him that one *Iſmenias* was an excellent Fidler or Piper; *It may be ſo*, ſaid he, *but he is but a wretched paltry Fellow for all that: for otherwiſe he would not have been ſo excellent a Fidler*; meaning that he would have found ſome better Buſineſs to have em-

Which doth not happen in things of Art or Skill.

ploy'd

ploy'd himſelf about than Fidling and Piping. And King *Philip* to the ſame purpoſe told his Son *Alexander*, who once at a merry Meeting had ſung with great Pleaſure and Skill, *Are not you aſhamed, Son, to ſing ſo well? For it is enough for a King or Prince to find leiſure ſometimes to hear others ſing; and he does the Muſes no ſmall honour, when he pleaſes to be but preſent at ſuch Exerciſes and Tryals of Skill.* Now he who buſies himſelf in mean Employs, doth but bring that pains he takes about things of little or no uſe, as an Evidence againſt himſelf of his Negligence and ſlothful Indiſpoſition to virtuous and uſeful Practices. Nor would any generous and ingenious young Man, who ſhould behold the Statue of *Jupiter*, which ſtands in the City *Piſa*, deſire to be a *Phidias*, or that of *Juno* in the City *Argos*, to be a *Polyclete*, (the Workmen of thoſe Statues) or to be as good a Poet as *Anacreon* or *Philemon* or *Archilochus*, who had been delighted in reading of their Poems. For it doth not neceſſarily follow, that if a piece of Work pleaſe for its gracefulneſs, therefore he that wrought it deſerves our regard not envy. Whence it is that neither do ſuch things profit or advantage the Beholders, upon the ſight whereof there doth not ariſe a Zeal which may put them upon Imitation, nor an impulſe or inclination, which may move a deſire and raiſe

raiſe an endeavour of doing the like. But in ſooth it is *Virtue*, which doth preſently by the bare propoſal of its Actions ſo diſpoſe Men, that they do at once both admire the things done, and deſire to imitate the doers of them. For as to the Goods of *Fortune*, we are fond of the Poſſeſſion and Enjoyment of them; but as to thoſe of *Virtue*, we are in love with the Practice and Exerciſe of them: and thoſe we are content to receive from others, but theſe we had much rather our ſelves to impart and communicate to others. For that which is honeſt and virtuous, doth by a practical force move men toward it ſelf, and doth inſtantly infuſe into them a ſtrong inclination to Practice, moralizing and influencing the Beholder, not with Imitation, but with the Hiſtory of the thing done, exciting and ſtirring up his Reſolution to do it.

A Compariſon betwixt the Goods of Fortune and thoſe of Virtue.

Wherefore we alſo have thought fit to ſpend our time in pains, and to continue them on in writing the *Lives* of Famous Perſons; and we have compoſed this *Tenth Book* upon that Subject, wherein are contained the Life of *Pericles* and that of *Fabius Maximus*, (who managed and carried on the War againſt *Hannibal*) Men alike, as in their other Virtues and good Parts, ſo eſpecially in their mild and upright Temper and Demeanour, and in their being able to bear the croſs-grain'd Humours and fooliſh Carriages

The reaſon of the Parallel.

Carriages of their fellow Citizens the Commoners, and their fellow Rulers, who ſhared with them in the Charge of the Government; by which means they became both of them very uſeful and ſerviceable to the Intereſts of their Countries. Whether we do take a right aim at our intended purpoſe, it is left to the Reader to judg by thoſe things he ſhall here find ſet down.

Pericles *his Extraction.*

For as to *Pericles*, he was of that Tribe or Ward in *Athens* called *Acamantis*, and of that Company or Society of People called *Cholagria*, and one of the chiefeſt Families and Deſcents of the whole City both on his Father's and Mother's ſide. For *Xanthippus* his Father, he who defeated the King of *Perſia* his Lieutenant-Generals in the Battel of *Mycale*, took to Wife *Agariſte* the Niece or Grandchild of *Chliſthenes*, who like a brave Man as he was, drove out the Race of *Piſiſtratus*, and diſſolv'd and deſtroy'd their Tyrannical Uſurpation, and moreover made a Body of Laws, and ſettled ſuch a Model of Government as was excellently well tempered and ſuted for the Agreement and Safety of the People.

His Mother's Dream.

She (his Mother) being near her time, fancied in a Dream that ſhe was brought to Bed of a Lion, and within a few Days after was delivered of *Pericles*; in other reſpects as to the ſhape of his Body without fault,

fault, only his Head was ſomewhat longiſh and diſproportioned. For which reaſon it was that almoſt all the Images and Statues that were made of him, have the Head covered with a Helmet: the Workmen probably not being willing to expoſe him by ſhewing his Deformity. But the Poets of *Athens* plaid upon him, and called him Σχινοκέφαλον, *Schinocephalos*, that is, *Onion-pate*, or *Squill-pate*. For that which in common Language goes by the Name of Σκίλλα a SQUILL, or Sea-*Onion*, the *Atticks* do in their Dialect ſometimes term Σχῖνον, *Chinos*. And one of their Comick Poets *Charinus* in his Play called *Charones*, that is to ſay, *The Raſcality*, or The worſer ſort of People, ſays thus of him:

His ſhape.

The Wits play upon his Head.

* *Old Time, with Faction mixt in vile Embrace,*
Begot this greateſt Tyrant of his Race;
This, whom the Gods above
Call Head-compelling Jove.

* *This is a very obſcure piece of Raillery; The Poet alludes to ſeveral paſſages in* Heſiod *and* Homer, *and the ſhort account of them is this: Thoſe Poets tell us* Jupiter *was the Son of* Old Time, (Chrone, *or* Saturn, *the Perſon is the ſame tho the Name be different*) *and ſome body elſe: This* Jupiter *was ſtiled* νεφεληγερέτης, Cloud-gatherer, *or, as our excellent Mr.* Waller, Cloud-compelling. *Now* Pericles *was called* Olympius *and* Jupiter; *and therefore this Poet ſays he was begotten by* Old Time (*or* Saturn) *upon* Faction, *and that the Gods call'd him* Κεφαληγερέτην, (*this word is very near in ſound to* νεφεληγερέτην) Head-gatherer, *or* Head-compelling, *becauſe* Pericles *having a very long Head, ſeemed to have one Head ſet or added to another. This is the beſt I can make of this Paſſage.*

Andagain in another play of his called *Nemeſis*, or *The Revenge*, he in this manner beſpeaks him: *Advance*

Advance thou Jove *to entertain thy Gueſts,*
And bring thy bleſſed Logger-head to th' Feaſts.

And *Telecides*, another of thoſe Poets, ſaith in mockery of him, that one while

Puzzled with nice affairs of State and Town,
His Grout-head being overſet hangs down.

And that another while,

Only from that long overgrowing Pate
There doth ariſe much Trouble to the State.

And *Eupolis*, a third Poet, in a Comedy of his called *Demi*, that is, *The People of the Boroughs*, making enquiry concerning every one of the *Demagogues* or Leading-men, whom he makes in the Play to come up from Hell, as *Pericles* comes to be named laſt, he replies:

Why in the Devil's name, 'mongſt all the Dead
That lie below, haſt brought us up the Head?

His Muſick-Maſter.

The Maſter that taught him Muſick, moſt Authors are agreed was one *Damon*; (whoſe name they ſay ought to be pronounced with the firſt ſyllable ſhort.) Tho *Ariſtotle* tells us that he was thorowly practiſed to Muſick with one *Pythoclides*. And as to *Damon*, it is not unlikely, that he being a ſhrewd cunning Sophiſter as he was, did out of policy ſhelter himſelf under the name and profeſſion of a Muſick-Maſter, on purpoſe to conceal from the Vulgar his ſubtilty and skill in State-Affairs. So that under this pretence he attended

tended *Pericles* to inſtruct him in Politicks, and to teach him the Myſteries of Government, in the ſame manner as the Anointer or Maſter in a Fencing School uſeth to wait upon a young Scholar that learns to wreſtle. Yet for all that *Damon* did not ſo eſcape publick Notice, how he made uſe of his Lyre or Harp for a covert and blind of another Deſign, but that he was baniſhed the Country by Oſtraciſm for ten Years, as a bigotted Intermedler in the Government, and one that favoured Arbitrary Power; and by this means gave the Stage occaſion to play upon him. As for inſtance; *Plato* one of thoſe Play-wrights, brought in a Perſon putting the Queſtion to him (under the name of *Chiron* who had been *Achilles* his Tutor likewiſe in Muſick) in this manner;

Firſt I beſeech thee, tell me, if thou can:
For, Chiron, *thou, they ſay, bredſt up the Man,*

meaning *Pericles.*

Moreover *Pericles* did by ſnatches and by the by hear ſeveral Lectures of *Zeno Eleates*, who diſcourſed and treated of natural Philoſophy much at the ſame rate as *Parmenides* did, only that he had by Exerciſe and Practice got a kind of habit or knack of confuting any Opinion right or wrong; *His Philoſophy-Reader.*

and

and of baffling People by thwarting and oppoſing whatſoever they ſaid, and ſo running them aground that they did not know which way to turn themſelves. And accordingly *Timon* the *Philaſian* hath given the account of him in this pair of Verſes.

Zeno's great force, who ſpoke to either part,
Confuted all, and never fail'd in's Art.

His chief Tutor. But he that was moſt converſant with *Pericles*, and furniſhed him moſt eſpecially with a Weight and Grandeur of Senſe, and a more grave and ſolid reſearch of thoſe Arts by which the Populace is to be managed, and in the main heightned his Spirit, and advanced the Majeſty and Grace of his Addreſs and Deportment, was *Anaxagoras* the *Clazomenian:* whom the Men of thoſe times called by the name of Νῦς, *Nous*, that is, Mind or *Underſtanding*, whether in Admiration of his great and extraordinary Skill and Knowledg, as it clearly appeared to be, in the Affairs of Nature, or whether it were becauſe that he was the firſt of the Philoſophers, who did not commit the Government of the World to Fortune or *Chance*, nor to Fatal *Neceſſity*, as the Principle of that Order we find things in; but preferr'd to the rule and manage of all other things, that are jumbled and huddled together, a pure and clear *Underſtanding*, which ſifts and

and culls out the parts alike from amidſt thoſe Confuſions.

This Man *Pericles* did extraordinarily eſteem and admire, and being fill'd up to the brim with that they call a lofty way of ſpeaking and diſcourſing as it were on tip-toe, he not only was, as we may judg, Maſter of brave and bold Reſentments, and of ſuch a ſtrain of Harangue as was high in it ſelf, and free from the taint of Plebeian Prate, and leud knaviſh Buffoonery: but alſo beſide that, the very air of his Face and compoſure of his Countenance grave, and not any way moved to Laughter, and the gentleneſs and ſlowneſs of his Pace and Gate, and the decent ordering of his Apparel, ſo that no accident could diſcompoſe him in the delivery of himſelf; and the even undiſturbed faſhioning and tuning of his Voice, and whatever other the like Advantages he had, did make wonderful Impreſſions even to aſtoniſhment in all Perſons that either ſaw or heard him. *His Accompliſhments.*

See but his Patience and greatneſs of Mind! One time being reviled and ill ſpoken of all day long in his own hearing by a villanous and ill-tongu'd Raſcal that cared not what he ſaid, he bore it patiently all along without returning him one Word; all this in the open Court or the Aſſembly of the People, where he was at the ſame time ingaged in the Proſecution and Diſ- *An inſtance of his Patience.*

patch of ſome weighty urgent Affair. In the Evening he went home in very good order, as one unconcerned, this Fellow dogging him at the Heels, and pelting him all the way he went with all the hard words and Billinſgate Language he could rake up. As he was ready to go into his Houſe, it being by this time dark, he ordered one of his Servants to take a light, and go along with the Man and ſee him ſafe home: Which was all the notice he took of him.

His defence againſt Ion's *Cenſure.*

Now *Ion* the Poet ſaith, that *Pericles* his Converſe and Carriage in Company was Haughty and Surly, Superb, and full of Huff; and that he had a great deal of ſlightingneſs and ſcorn of others intermixt with his State and high Thoughts of himſelf: and on the other hand he commends *Cimon*'s exact Civility, and eaſy Compliance, and gentle well-faſhion'd Behaviour at every turn in all his Converſations. Well! but let us leave *Ion* to himſelf, who ſeems to take it for granted, that Virtue hath by all means ſomewhat of the Satyrical part in it, as Tragedy hath: But as for thoſe who miſcalled *Pericles* his Gravity by the name of an affected Oſtentation and grandeur of State, *Zeno* adviſed ſuch Perſons, That they alſo would try to affect the like garb of Greatneſs, in as much as the very counterfeiting and aping of good Qualities doth in time by ſtealth procure and beget a kind of Emulation

Emulation for thoſe things, and a familiarity with them.

Nor were theſe the only Advantages which *Pericles* had of *Anaxagoras* his Acquaintance and keeping him Company; but he ſeemed alſo to be advanced by his Inſtructions far above all that Superſtition, whatever it is, which as to Meteors and the like ſtrange Appearances doth with frightful Apprehenſions poſſeſs the minds of people, who are ignorant of the true cauſes, by which ſuch Effects are naturally produced, and are mad as if the Devil were in them, and in great agony and diſorder upon occaſion of theſe Divine Prodigies, by reaſon of their Ignorance and want of Skill about them: Which Ignorance, natural Reaſon diſcharging and freeing men from, inſtead of a dreadful and unquiet troubleſom Superſtition, works in them a free and generous Devotion, together with good Hopes and kindly Aſſurances. *Another advantage of his Education.*

There is a Story, that on a time *Pericles* had brought him from a Country-Farm of his a Ram's Head with one Horn; and that *Lampon* a Diviner or Fortune-teller, upon ſeeing the Horn grow ſtrong and firm out of the midſt of the Fore-head, gave this for his Judgment, that there being at that time two potent Factions, Parties or Intereſts in the City, the one of *Thucydides* and the other of *Pericles*, the Govern- *A Prodigy of a Ram with one Horn.* *The meaning of it.*

ment would come about to that one of them in whoſe Ground or Eſtate this Token or Indication of Fate had happened: But that *Anaxagoras*, when he had cleft the Skull in ſunder, ſhew'd to the Standers by that the Brain had not fill'd up its Pan or natural Place, but being ſharp, of an Oval Figure, had roll'd it ſelf together, from all parts of the Veſſel which contained it, in a point to that place, from whence the Root of the Horn took its riſe; which was the reaſon it grew ſingle. And that for that time *Anaxagoras* was much admired, for the account he gave by thoſe that were preſent at the Operation; and *Lampon* no leſs a little while after, when *Thucydides* being outed and laid aſide, all Affairs of the State and Government came intirely into *Pericles*'s Hands and Management.

The reaſon of it.

The cauſe and end of Prodigies ought both to be heeded.

And yet in my Opinion it is no Abſurdity to ſay that they were both in the right, the natural Philoſopher and the Fortune-teller: the one ſo luckily hitting upon the Cauſe of this Event, by which it was produced; the other upon the End, for which it was deſigned. For it was the buſineſs of the *one* to find out and give account, out of what it was made, and in what manner and by what means it grew as it did; and of the *other* to foretel to what end and purpoſe it was ſo made, and what it might mean or portend. Now as to thoſe who ſay

ſay that to find out the Cauſe of ſuch prodigious Events is in effect to deſtroy any ſignification they may be ſuppoſed to have; theſe Men do not take notice, that at the ſame time, together with Divine Prodigies (the tokens of God's Pleaſure or Diſpleaſure) they defeat and render of no uſe thoſe ſigns and marks which are contrived by Art; ſuch as are, for inſtance, the claſhings and clatterings of Quoits or Trenchers, and the Lights of Watch-towers along the Sea-ſide, and the ſhadows of the Pins of Sun-dials; every of which things is made by ſome cauſe and contrivance to be a ſign of ſome other thing. But theſe are ſubjects that peradventure would better befit ſome other Conſideration than what we are now upon.

His reſemblance of Piſiſtratus.

Now *Pericles*, being yet but a young Man, ſtood in great awe of the People, and was mightily afraid of giving them any occaſion of Offence: Foraſmuch as he appear'd in ſhape and feature to be very like the Tyrant *Piſiſtratus*, and the grave Seniors of the Town, who remembred that Man, when they took notice of the ſweetneſs of this Man's Voice, and the volubility and readineſs of his Tongue in diſcourſing, were ſtruck into amazement at the mere reſemblance of this to the other. But he conſidering that he had a very fair Eſtate, and was deſcended of as noble a Family as

any, and had ſtore of Friends who bore the greateſt ſway, was ſo far from truſting to theſe Advantages, that he apprehended they might procure him to be baniſhed as a dangerous Perſon: and for this reaſon he medled not at all with State-affairs, but in the Services of War he ſhew'd himſelf a brave Man, and one who with undaunted Courage would expoſe himſelf upon all occaſions.

His firſt riſe in the State.

But as ſoon as *Ariſtides* was dead, and *Themiſtocles* turn'd out of the Saddle, and ſeeing that *Cimon* was for the moſt part kept abroad by thoſe Expeditions he made in Foreign Parts out of *Greece*; then did *Pericles*, ſeeing things in this poſture, apply himſelf to the State, inſtead of the rich and the few great Dons, making choice of ſuch Matters and Cauſes wherein the common People and poorer ſort were concern'd, and ſided with them: which was a thing ſomewhat beſide his natural Temper, for he was not of himſelf given to Popularity or mean Compliances. But, as it is very likely, fearing he might, by reaſon of thoſe Advantages we mention'd, fall under a ſuſpicion and jealouſy of ſetting up for Kingſhip or Arbitrary Power; and ſeeing how *Cimon* courted the Ariſtocracy or chief Men of the Government, and was mightily beloved by all honeſt Men and People of faſhion, he took another way to the Wood, and ſhelter'd himſelf among the Croud and Herd

of

of the common People: By which means he did at once both ſecure himſelf, and procure an Intereſt to ſerve him, when time ſhould be, againſt *Cimon*.

His Reſervedneſs.

And beſides, preſently upon his Application to State Affairs, he took a quite different Courſe from what others and himſelf had uſed, as to his Order of Life and management of himſelf. For he was never ſeen to walk in any Street or way at *Athens*, but only that which led to the Court or Town-Hall, where the People aſſembled, and to the Senate or Parliament-Houſe, where the Lords ſat in Council; and he avoided and left off the Invitations of Friends to Supper, and all ſuch kind of friendly Treatment and neighbourly Acquaintance: ſo that in all the time he had to do with the Publick, which was not a little, he was never known to have gone to any of his Friends to a Supper; only once, and that was at a Wedding, when his near Kinſman *Euryptolemus*, his Siſter's Son, married, he ſtaid till the Ceremony of the Drink-offering, and then immediately roſe from Table and went his way. For theſe friendly Meetings and Treats are ſhrewd things to get the upper-hand of an affected Greatneſs, and are apt to diſcompoſe a ſtarcht Gravity, and put it out of Countenance; nor can the Solemnity of a Man's Reputation be well preſerv'd and maintain'd by ordinary Con-

Virtue free and open.

verſe and Familiarity. And yet in that which is true and genuine Virtue, thoſe things appear the faireſt, which are moſt apparent and leaſt reſerv'd; and there is not of good and brave Men any thing ſo fit to be admired by Strangers, as their daily Life and Converſation is by thoſe of their Family, and who keep them continual Company. But our States-man here, to avoid the Throng and Glut of the People, did as it were by intervals, by ſnatches and fits, come among them, not ſpeaking to every buſineſs, nor at all times coming into the Aſſembly, but (as *Critolaus* ſaith the *Athenians* did with the three-oar'd Gally of *Salamis*) reſerving himſelf for great things, other matters of leſſer importance he diſpatch'd by Friends, or by other Counſellors at the Bar his Cronies. And of this number we

Ephialtes *a Friend of his.*

are told *Ephialtes* made one, he who broke up the Power of the *Areopagites*, the Council that ſat on *Mars*'s Hill; and by that means (according to *Plato*'s Expreſſion) gave the Citizens a large and racy draught of Liberty, which ſet the People ſo agog, as the Play-wrights inform us, that like a wild unruly Horſe, that had flung his Rider, they would be ruled no longer, but champed and bit *Eubœa*, and flounced and curvetted upon the other Iſles.

Now *Pericles* deſigning to ſute the gravity of his Life and the greatneſs of his Spirit

rit and Senſe with a befitting Character of Speech, he, to put that as it were a muſical Inſtrument in tune, put his Tutor *Anaxagoras* often upon the ſtretch, and by a kind of *Bow*-dye gloſs ſet off thoſe accounts he gave of Nature with artificial Rhetorick. For having, beſide his great natural Parts, by the ſtudy of Nature attained this height of Underſtanding, and ability of turning and winding every thing to his own purpoſe, (to uſe the words of Divine *Plato*) and drawing whatever might be of advantage into the Art of ſpeaking, he got the ſtart of all others by much.

His Rhetorick or way of expreſſing himſelf.

Upon which account they ſay he had the ſirname or nickname of *Olympius* given him, (the ſame Title that *Jupiter* himſelf was called by) tho ſome are of Opinion he was ſo named from thoſe famous Works and publick Buildings, wherewith he adorn'd the City: others would have him ſo called from the great Power he had in publick Affairs whether of War or Peace. Nor is it unlikely or abſurd to imagine, that from the confluence of thoſe many good Qualities which belonged to the Man himſelf, the glory of ſuch a Title might be conferred upon him. However the Comedies of the then Maſters of the Stage, who both in good earneſt, and out of merriment too, let fly many ſhreud words at him, do plainly ſhew that he got that Appellation eſpecially

Why called Olympius.

ally upon the account of his being an able Speaker, by ſaying that he thunder'd and lightned, when he harangued the People, and that he carried a dreadful Thunderbolt in his Tongue.

Thucydides *his Remark upon him.*

There is a ſaying alſo of *Thucydides* the *Mileſian* ſtands on record, ſpoken by him pleaſantly enough upon *Pericles* his ſhrewdneſs of Speech. For *Thucydides* was a Perſon among them of great Credit and Repute, and one who had for a very long time bandied againſt *Pericles* in the Government. Now when *Archidamus* the King of the *Lacedæmonians* aſked him, whether he or *Pericles* were the better Wreſtler, he made this Anſwer: *When I*, ſaith he, *have thrown him and given him a fair Fall, he by ſtanding out in the denial, ſaying that he had no Fall, gets the better of me, and perſuades People into a belief of what he ſays whether they will or no, tho they ſaw the quite contrary.*

His care of ſpeaking in publick.

Howbeit the truth of it is, that *Pericles* himſelf was very wary and careful what and how he was to ſpeak, inſomuch that always whenever he went up to the Tribunal or into the Pulpit to deliver himſelf, he prayed to the Gods, that no one Word might unawares againſt his Will ſlip from him, which ſhould be misbecoming or unſutable to the matter in hand and the occaſion he was to ſpeak to.

Indeed

Indeed he hath left nothing in Writing behind him, ſave only ſome Popular Decrees or Ordinances. And there are but few in all of his notable Sayings which are recorded; as this for one, That he gave order that they would take away the City and Iſle of *Ægina* (then poſſeſt by the Enemy) as an Eye-ſore from the *Pyræum*, a Port of *Athens*; and this for another, That he fancied he ſaw a War coming along towards them out of *Peloponneſus* (now called the *Morea*.) Again, when on a time *Sophocles*, who was his fellow-Commiſſioner in the Generalſhip, was going on board with him, and praiſed the Beauty of a Boy they met with in the way to the Ship, *Sophocles*, ſaith he, *a General ought not only to have clean Hands, but Eyes too*; meaning that a Perſon in ſuch an Office and Charge ſhould not give way even to the Temptations of ſight. And moreover *Steſimbrotus* hath this Paſſage of him, that as he was in an Encomiaſtick Oration ſpeaking of thoſe who fell in the Battel at *Samos*, he ſaid they were grown immortal, as the Gods were. For, ſaid he, we do not ſee them themſelves, but only by thoſe Honours we pay them; and by thoſe good things which they do enjoy, we gueſs and judg them to be immortal. And the very ſame caſe it is, went he on, with thoſe that die in the Service and Defence of their Country.

Some of his notable Sayings.

Now

An Account of his Politicks.

Now whereas *Thucydides* makes ſuch a deſcription of *Pericles* his Ariſtocratical Government, that it went by the Name of a Democracy, but was indeed a Government by a ſingle Perſon, to wit under the Conduct and at the Pleaſure of one Man who was chief; and many others ſay that by him the common People was firſt brought on and led along to the ſharing of Lands by Lot, taken from the Enemy, and to the dividing of publick Monies (formerly reſerved for the uſes of War) to be allowed them for ſeeing of Plays and Shows, and to diſtributions of Salaries; by which means being ill accuſtomed, of a ſober, modeſt, thrifty People, that maintained themſelves by their own Labours, they became riotous and debauched through the methods of Policy then uſed: let us conſider the cauſe of this change in the things themſelves as to matter of fact.

His rivalling of Cimon.

For indeed at the firſt (as hath been ſaid) when he ſet himſelf againſt *Cimon*'s great Authority, he did careſs the People what he could, and underhand curry favour with them. But finding himſelf come ſhort of his Competitor in Wealth and Monies, by which advantages the other was inabled to take care of the poor, inviting every day ſome one or other of the Citizens that was in want to ſupper, and beſtowing Clothes on the aged People, and breaking down the

the hedges and incloſures of Grounds, to the intent that all that would might freely gather what Fruit they pleaſed: *Pericles* being ſnub'd and kept under by theſe Popular Arts, did by the advice of one *Demonides Ienſis*, turn himſelf to the diſtribution of the publick Monies, as *Ariſtotle* hath told the Story; and in a ſhort time having decoy'd and won the People, what with thoſe Monies allowed for Shows and for Courts of Juſtice, and what with other Bribes and Largeſſes and Supplies, he made uſe of theſe Methods againſt the Council of *Areopagus*, of which he himſelf was no Member, as having not been choſen by lot, either Annual Magiſtrate, or Guardian of the Laws, or King, that is, Governor of the ſacred Rites, nor Chieftain of the Wars. For of old theſe Offices were confer'd on Perſons by Lot, and they who had acquitted themſelves well in the diſcharge of theſe Truſts were advanced and taken into the Court of *Areopagus*. Whereupon *Pericles* having gotten ſo great a Power and Intereſt with the Populace, imbroiled and routed this Council, ſo that moſt of thoſe Cauſes and Matters which had been uſed to be tried there were through *Ephialtes* his Aſſiſtance diſcharged from the Cogniſance of that Court, and *Cimon* was baniſhed by Oſtraciſm, upon pretence of his being a Favourer of the *Lacedæmonians*, and a Hater of his own People of

His diſpoſal of publick Monies among the People.

His deſign againſt the Council of Areopagus.

He procures Cimon to be baniſhed.

of *Athens*, notwithſtanding that he was one who came behind none of them all for greatneſs of Eſtate and nobleneſs of Birth; and that he had won ſeveral famous and ſignal Victories upon the *Barbarians*, and with a great deal of Monies and other Spoils of War taken from them had mightily inriched the City; as in the Hiſtory of his *Life* hath been ſet down. So vaſt an Authority had *Pericles* gotten among the People.

The *Oſtraciſm*, or Baniſhment by Shells, I mentioned, (which they us'd in ſuch Trials) was limited by Law to Ten Years, during which Term the Perſon baniſhed was not to return. But the *Lacedæmonians* in the mean time making an Inroad with a great Army on the Country of *Tanagra*, (which lay upon the *Attick* Borders) and the *Athenians* going out againſt them with their Forces, *Cimon* coming from his Baniſhment before his time was out, put himſelf in Arms and Array with thoſe of his Fellow-Citizens that were of his own Tribe, and reſolved by his Deeds to wipe off that falſe Accuſation of his favouring the *Lacedæmonians*, by venturing his own Perſon along with his Countrymen. But *Pericles* his Friends gathering in a body together, drove him away as one under the ſentence of Exile, and forced him to retire. For which cauſe alſo *Pericles* ſeems to have laid about him

After a Battel with the Lacedæmonians,

him the more, behaving himſelf very valiantly and ſtoutly in the Fight, and to have been the gallanteſt Man among them all in the Action of that Day, having expoſed himſelf to all hazard and hardſhip. All *Cimon*'s Friends alſo to a Man fell together in that Battel, whom *Pericles* had impeached as well as him of taking part with the *Lacedæmonians*. And now the *Athenians* heartily repented them for what they had done to *Cimon*, and long'd to have him home again, being in the cloſe of this Fight beaten and worſted upon the Confines and Borders of their own Country, and expecting a ſore War to come upon them next Spring or Summer Seaſon. All which *Pericles* being ſenſible of, did not boggle or make any delay to gratify the Peoples deſire; but having wrote an Edict or Order for that purpoſe, himſelf recall'd the Man home. And he upon his return concluded a Peace betwixt the two Cities: for the *Lacedæmonians* had a reſpect and kindneſs for him, as on the contrary they hated *Pericles* and the reſt of the Demagogues or Leading-men.

Wherein the Athenians *had the worſt,*

He recalls Cimon *from Baniſhment.*

Yet ſome there are do ſay that *Pericles* did not write that Edict or Order for *Cimon*'s Revocation and Return, till ſome private Articles of Agreement had been made between them, and that by means of *Elpinice*, *Cimon*'s Siſter. Which were, That *Cimon*

He and Cimon *reconciled upon Terms.*

mon ſhould go out to Sea with a Fleet of two hundred Ships, and be Commander in chief of all the Forces abroad, with a deſign to haraſs and lay waſte the King of *Perſia*'s Countries and Dominions; and that *Pericles* ſhould have the Power at home and govern in the City.

Having ſhewn him favour before for his Siſter's ſake.

This *Elpinice*, it is thought, had before this time procured ſome Favour for her Brother *Cimon* at *Pericles* his hands, and made him more remiſs and gentle in drawing up and ſetting home the Charge, when *Cimon* being tried for his Life eſcaped the Sentence of Death, and was only baniſhed. For *Pericles* was one of the Committee appointed by the Commons to implead him. And when *Elpinice* made her Applications to him, and beſought him in her Brother's behalf, he with a ſmile in merriment ſaid, O Elpinice, *you are too old a Woman to undertake ſuch buſineſſes as this is.* Moreover when he came to the Bar to impeach him, he ſtood up but once to ſpeak, as if he made ſlight of his Commiſſion, playing booty as it were; and went out of Court, having done *Cimon* the leaſt Prejudice of any of his Accuſers,

He is cleared from the ſuſpicion of Ephialtes his Death.

How then can one believe *Idomeneus*, who charges *Pericles*, as if he had by treachery contriv'd and order'd the Murder of *Ephialtes* the Demagogue or Counſellor of State, one who was his Friend and of his Party

Party in the menage of the Government; out of a jealouſy forſooth, ſays he, and an envy of his great Reputation. This Hiſtorian, it ſeems, having raked up theſe Stories I know not out of what Kennel, has thrown them up like vomiting Stuff to beſpatter this worthy Man, one who perchance was not altogether free from Fault or Blame, but yet was one who had a generous noble Spirit, and a Soul that affected and courted Honour; and where ſuch Qualities are, there can no ſuch cruel and brutal Paſſion find Harbour, or gain Admittance. But as to *Epialtes*, the truth of the Story, as *Ariſtotle* hath told it, is this, That having made himſelf formidable to the *Oligarchiſts*, (thoſe who would have all the Power lodged in ſome few hands) by being a ſevere aſſerter of the Peoples Rights, in calling to account and proſecuting thoſe who any way injured them, his Enemies lying in wait for him, did, by the means or help of *Ariſtodicus* the *Tanagrian*, privately rid themſelves of him, and diſpatcht him out of the way.

After Cimon's *Death,*

Now *Cimon*, while he was Admiral, ended his Days in the Iſle of *Cyprus*: And the *Ariſtocratians* (thoſe who were for the Nobles) ſeeing that *Pericles* was already even formerly grown to be the greateſt and foremoſt Man of all the City, and being withal willing there ſhould be ſome body ſet up againſt him to give him check,

and to blunt and turn the Edge of his Power, that it might not without more ado prove a Monarchy; they ſet up *Thucydides* of *Alopecia*, a ſober diſcreet Perſon, and a near Kinſman of *Cimon*'s, to take up the Cudgels againſt him. Who indeed tho he were leſs skill'd in Warlike Affairs than *Cimon* was, yet was better verſed in the Courts of Law and Buſineſs of State; who keeping cloſe guard in the City, and being ingaged with *Pericles* in the Pleading-place where the publick Harangues were made, in a ſhort time brought the Government to an equal Intereſt of Parties. For he would not ſuffer thoſe who were call'd the Honeſt and Good (Perſons of Worth and Faſhion) to be ſcatter'd up and down and jumbled in a huddle with the Populace as formerly, by that means having their Honour and Credit ſmutted and darkned by the mixture of the Rabble: but taking them apart by themſelves, and gathering into one the Power and Intereſt of them all, which was now grown conſiderable, he did as it were upon the balance make a Counterpoiſe to the other Party.

He hath Thucydides *ſet up againſt him.*

For indeed the Conteſt of the two Parties at firſt was but as a thing of ſecret grudg, that made but a ſhallow Impreſſion, like a thing cut upon Iron, and barely ſignified the difference of a *Popular* and an *Ariſtocratical* Deſign; but the open Quarrel and

They become Heads of two Parties.

and canvaſſing Ambition of theſe two Men, gave the City a very deep Gaſh, ſo that the one Party was called the Populace or Commons, the other the Few or Great ones: *Whigs* and *Tories*.

Upon which account *Pericles*, at that time eſpecially, letting looſe the Reins to the People, managed things all to their Content, contriving continually to have ſome great publick Shew, or Feaſt, or Solemnity, ſome Entertainment and Divertiſement or other in Town, to pleaſe them, wheedling or cokeſing the Citizens, as a School-maſter does his Boys, with ſuch Delights and Careſſes, as were not unedifying neither. Beſides that every Year he ſent out threeſcore Gallies, on board of which there went ſeveral of the Citizens, who were in Pay eight Months, learning at the ſame time and practiſing the Art of Navigation, that they might prove good Seamen.

Pericles his Arts to cajole the People.

Moreover he ſent a thouſand of them into the *Cherſoneſe* in the nature of Planters to ſhare the Land among them by lot, and five hundred more into the Iſle of *Naxos*, and half that number into the Iſle of *Andros*, and a thouſand into *Thrace* to dwell among the *Biſaltæ* a People there; and others into *Italy*, when the City *Sybaris* was to be re-peopled, the Inhabitants whereof went by the Name of the *Thurians*.

He ſends Plantations abroad.

And this he did to eaſe and diſcharge the City of an idle, and by reaſon of their idleneſs, a buſy medling rabble of People, who having little to do of their own, would have made work by giving diſturbance to the Publick; and withal at the ſame time to provide for the Neceſſities of the poor Townſmen, by ſupplying them and ſetting them to rights, and to put an awe and a guard upon their Allies from attempting any thing of change by ſending them to dwell among them.

He raiſeth ſtately Buildings in the City.

But that which gave moſt Pleaſure and Ornament to the City of *Athens*, and the greateſt Admiration even to Aſtoniſhment to all Strangers, and that which alone doth ſufficiently witneſs for all *Greece*, that that Power of hers that is ſo much talk'd of, and her antient Wealth, was no Romance or idle Story, was that glorious Apparade and Furniture of thoſe ſtately publick Buildings and Dedications which *Pericles* cauſed to be raiſed and made there. This was that of all his Actions in the Government which his Enemies look'd aſquint at, and fell foul upon in the popular Aſſemblies, crying out, how that the Commonwealth of *Athens* had loſt its Reputation, and was ill ſpoken of Abroad, for removing the common Bank and publick Monies of all the *Grecians* from the Ille of *Delos*, where it was to have been kept, and taking it into their own Cuſtody;

For which he is hardly ſpoken of.

and

and how that, that which was the faireſt excuſe they had to plead for their ſo doing, to wit, that they took it away thence, for fear of the *Barbarians*, leſt they ſhould ſeize it, and on purpoſe to ſecure it in a ſafe place, *Pericles* had broke the Neck of that Pretence by putting it to other uſes; and how that *Greece* cannot but reſent it as an unſufferable Affront, and muſt needs look upon her ſelf as treated after a tyrannical manner, when ſhe ſees that that Treaſure, which was upon a neceſſity contributed by her for the uſe and maintenance of War, is wantonly laviſhed out by us upon our City, to gild her all over, and to adorn and ſet her forth as it were ſome proud ſtately Dame, hung round with precious Stones, and Statues, and ſumptuous Temples, which coſt a world of Mony.

His Apology and Vindication of himſelf.

Wherefore *Pericles* on the other hand informed the State, that they were no manner of way obliged to give any account of thoſe Monies to their Friends and Allies, inaſmuch as they fought and maintained a War in their Defence, and kept off the *Barbarians* from attacking them, and haraſſing their Country, while in the mean time they did not ſo much as ſet out Horſe, or Man, or Ship, but only found Mony for the Service; which Mony, ſays he, is not theirs that give it, but theirs that receive it, if ſo be they perform the Conditions upon which

they receive it. And that it was good reaſon, that the City being ſufficiently provided and ſtored with thoſe things that are neceſſary for the War, they ſhould convert the Overplus of its Wealth to ſuch Undertakings and Deſigns, as would hereafter, when they were finiſhed, eternize their Fame, and for the preſent, while they are a doing, will readily ſupply all the Inhabitants with plenty; there appearing ſuch variety of all kind of Workmanſhip and ſeveral ſorts of occaſions for Service, which ſeeing they ſummon all Arts and Trades, and require all Hands to be employed about them, they do actually put the whole City in a manner into State-pay; ſo that at the ſame time ſhe is beautified and maintained by her ſelf at her own Coſt and Charge. For as thoſe who are of Age and Strength for War, are provided for and maintained in the Armies abroad by their Pay out of the publick Stock; ſo it being his deſire and deſign that the rude Multitude that ſtaid at home, and were verſt in Handy-crafts ſhould not go without their ſhare of publick Salaries, and yet that they would not have them given them for ſitting ſtill and doing nothing, to that end he thought fit to bring in among them, with the Approbation of the State, thoſe vaſt Projects of Buildings, and Deſigns of Works, that would be of ſome continuance e'er they were finiſhed, which

which will imploy ſundry Arts and Occupations: That ſo that part of the People, that ſtaid in the City and kept at home, might no leſs than thoſe that were at Sea, or in Gariſon, or under Arms, have a fair pretence and juſt occaſion of receiving the Benefit, and having their ſhare of the publick Monys.

The advantage of thoſe publick Works to the People of the Town.

For here in this caſe the Materials or Stuff were *Stone*, *Braſs*, *Ivory*, *Gold*, *Ebony*, *Cypreſs*; and the Arts or Trades that wrought and faſhioned them were *Smiths* and *Carpenters*, Image-makers and *Plaiſterers*, *Founders* and *Braſiers*, *Stone-cutters* or Carvers and *Maſons*, *Dyers* and Stainers, *Gold-ſmiths*, *Ivory-cutters*, *Painters* or Picture-drawers, *Embroiderers*, *Turners*. Now thoſe that imported theſe things and conveyed them up to the Town for uſe, were *Merchants*, and *Mariners*, and *Maſters of Ships* by Sea; and thoſe who brought and help'd to bring them by Land were *Waggoners* and *Cartwrights*, *Carriers*, and thoſe that let Horſes to hire, *Carters* and *Muleteers*, *Rope-makers*, Workers in Stone, *Shooe-makers* and Leather-dreſſers, *Surveyors* and Menders of High-ways, *Pioneers* and Diggers in Mines. Now every Trade and Myſtery, in the ſame nature as a Commander or Captain in an Army hath his particular Company of Soldiers under him, had its own hired and peculiar Company of Jour-

ny-men and Labourers belonging to it, banded and pack'd up together as in array, to be as it were the inſtrument and body for the performance of the Service. To ſay all in a word, the occaſions and uſes they had for Men to theſe publick Works did diſtribute and ſcatter the plentiful Advantage and Benefit of them among the People of the Town through all Ages and Conditions; of whatſoever Trade and Occupation they might be.

The admirable ſpeed they made in theſe Works.

As the Works then grew up, being as ſtately and extraordinary for Bulk and Greatneſs, ſo inimitable for Beauty and Gracefulneſs, the Workmen ſtriving to outvy the Matter and Grandeur of the Work with the neat Contrivance and artificial Beauty of it; the thing that was moſt to be admired was the haſt and ſpeed they made. For of thoſe things, which every one of them ſingly they did imagin could hardly be finiſhed and brought to an end in ſeveral ſucceſſions of Governors and ages of Men, all of them had their Compliment and Perfection in the height and prime of one Man's Government. Altho they ſay too, that about the ſame time *Zeuxis* having heard *Agatharcus* the Picture-drawer boaſt himſelf for diſpatching his Work with ſpeed and eaſe, replied, *But I am a long time about mine.* For the eaſineſs and haſtineſs in doing of a thing doth not put upon the Work

Work a laſting ſolidity or exactneſs of Beauty: But Time being allowed to a Man's Pains afore-hand for the production of a thing, doth by way of intereſt return a vital force for the preſervation of the thing after it is once produced. For which reaſon *Pericles* his Works are the more admired, having been done ſo well in a little time as to hold good for a long time. For every ſeveral Piece of his Work was immediately even at that time for its Beauty and Elegance Antique, as if it had been performed by ſome antient Maſter; and yet for its Vigour and Freſhneſs it looks to this day as if it were ſpick and ſpan, and newly wrought: There is ſuch a kind of flouriſhing Gloſs upon thoſe Works of his, which continually preſerves the ſight of them from being ſullied by time, as if they had an ay-green ſpirit, and a never-fading Soul mingled in the Compoſition of them.

To the laſtingneſs and freſhneſs of them.

Now *Phidias* was he who had the overſight of all the Works, and was his Surveyor General, tho in the ſeveral Deſigns and Pieces there were great Maſters and rare Artiſts imployed. For *Callicrates* and *Ictinus* built the *Parthenon* (that is, the Temple of the Virgin *Pallas*) which was in meaſure an hundred Foot every way; and the Chappel at *Eleuſin* (where the ſacred Rites of the Goddeſs *Ceres* were celebrated) was begun by *Coræbus*, who alſo placed the

An account of the Workmen, and of ſeveral of the Buildings.

the Pillars that ſtand upon the Floor or Pavement, and join'd them with Architraves. But after his Death *Megenes* the *Xypetian* rais'd the Girth or Waſte of it, and ſet up the Pillars that are above, and *Xenocles* the *Cholargian* roofed or arched the Lanthorn or Loover on the top of the Temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*.

The Long Wall. As for the Long Wall, which join'd the Port or Harbour with the Town, concerning which *Socrates* ſaith he himſelf heard *Pericles* deliver his Opinion and give order about it, *Callicrates* took that by the great. This brave Piece of Work *Cratinus*, like a Poet as he was, ſneeringly flouts at, by reaſon it was ſo long a finiſhing:

'Tis long ſince Pericles, *if Words would do't,*
Talkt up the Wall, but yet ſet no hands to't.

The Odeum *or Muſick-Theatre.* The *Choir* or Muſick-room, which for the contrivance of it on the inſide was full of Seats and ranges of Pillars, and on the outſide in the Roof or Covering of it was made from one Point at top with a great many Bendings all ſhelving downward; they ſay was ſo made after the Copy and in imitation of the King of *Perſia*'s Pavilion, and this by *Pericles* his order likewiſe: upon which occaſion *Cratinus* again, in his Comedy called *The Thracian Women*, plays upon him with raillery thus;

Here

Here comes along our goodly Jove, *(God bleſs!)*
Who's that, I pray? JOBBER-NOLL Pericles.
The Shells being ſcap'd, he now has got the Model
O'th' Muſick-room (help Goddeſs) in his Noddle.

Then *Pericles* out of an Ambition to do ſomething to be talk'd of, did firſt enact or make a Decree, that a Prize ſhould be plaid in the Science of *Muſick* every year at the ſolemn Feaſts of *Minerva*, which laſted five Days together, called *Panathenæa*, whither all the People of City and Country were uſed to reſort: and he himſelf being choſen Judg of the Prizes, and beſtower of the Rewards, gave order, after what manner thoſe who were to play the Prizes were either to ſing with the Voice, or to play upon the Flute, or upon the Cittern or Guitarr. And both at that time (to wit, at the Feaſt) and at other times alſo they were wont to ſit in this Muſick-room, and ſee and hear thoſe Prizes and Trials of Skill. *Muſick-Games inſtituted.*

Further, the Foregate and Entrance of the Citadel or Caſtle were finiſhed in five years time, *Mneſicles* being the chief Undertaker of that Work. Now there was a ſtrange accident happened in building of *The* Acropolis *or Citadel.* *A ſtrange accident.*

the Citadel, which ſhewed that the Goddeſs was ſo far from diſliking the Work, or being averſe to it, that ſhe help'd to carry it on and to bring it to Perfection. For one of the Artificers, who was the quickeſt and the handieſt Workman among them all, with a ſlip of his Foot fell down from a great height, and lay ill of it in ſo miſerable a condition, that the Phyſicians and Chirurgions gave him over, having no hopes of his Recovery. *Pericles* being at a loſs, and not knowing what to do, *Minerva* appeared to him at Night in a Dream, and order'd a Medicine, which *Pericles* applying to the Man did in a ſhort time and with great eaſe cure him. And on this Occaſion it was that he ſet up a braſs Statue of *Minerva*, called hence the Statue of *Health*, in the Citadel near an Altar, which as they ſay was there before. But it was *Phidias*, who wrought the Goddeſſes Image in Gold, and hath his Name inſcribed on the Pedeſtal as the Workman thereof. And indeed the whole Work in a manner was under his Charge, and he had (as we have ſaid already) the overſight of all the Artiſts and Workmen, becauſe *Pericles* had a kindneſs for him.

Minerva's Statue.

Several Slanders and Abuſes put upon Pericles.

And this made the poor Man to be much envied, and his Patron to be very ill ſpoken of, and horribly abuſed with Storys, as if *Phidias* had been his Pimp, and took up Ladies and Gentlewomen that came to ſee the Works,

Works, for *Pericles* his uſe. The Comick Wits of the Town, when they had got this Story by the end, made much of it, and bedaſh'd him with all the ribaldry they could invent, as if he had been the arranteſt Whoremaſter that ever liv'd; charging him falſely with the Wife of *Menippus*, one who was his Friend and had been a Lieutenant General under him in the Wars; and with the Volaries or Bird-Cages of *Pyrilampes*, who being an Acquaintance of *Pericles*, they pretended and made as if he were wont to preſent Peacocks and ſuch fine Birds to *Pericles* his Miſſes, the Women whom he gallanted and kept Company with. And why ſhould one wonder at what ſuch Fellows ſay, who play the *Satyriſts* upon other Mens Lives, and daily upon all occaſions with their Reproaches and evil Speeches ſacrifice the Reputation of their Superiors, the *Great* and the *Good*, to the envy and ſpite of the Rabble, as to ſome evil *Genius* or wicked Spirit; whenas *Steſimbrotus* the *Thracian* had dared to broach a diſmal and incredible Villany againſt *Pericles*, as if he had committed Inceſt with his own Son's Wife.

By this means it comes about, that it is a very difficult matter to trace and find out the Truth of any thing by *Hiſtory*, when on one hand thoſe who undertake to write it, living ſo long after the things were done, cannot

Why hard to find out Truth in Hiſtory.

cannot arrive at the certain knowledg of ſuch Tranſactions as paſt in the Times before them; and on the other hand that Hiſtory which is contemporary and of the ſame ſtanding with thoſe Actions and Lives which it reporteth, doth partly thro Envy and Ill-will, partly thro Favour and Flattery, diſguiſe and pervert the Truth.

Now when the Orators who ſided with *Thucydides* and were of his Party, were at one time bawling (as their Cuſtom was) againſt *Pericles*, as one who ſquander'd away the publick Stock in idle Expences, and made havock of the State-revenues, he ſtarting up in the open Aſſembly put the queſtion to the People, Whether they thought that what he had laid out was too much: and they ſaying, *Too too much of all Conſcience*; *Well then!* ſaid he, *ſince 'tis ſo, let not the Coſt and Charge go upon your account, but upon mine: And accordingly I will make the Inſcription upon the Temples and other publick Buildings in mine own Name.* When therefore they heard him ſay thus, whether it were out of a ſurprize to ſee the greatneſs of his Spirit, or out of emulation that they envy'd him the Glory of the Works, and reſolv'd to go ſhares with him, they cried aloud, bidding him to ſpend on and lay out o' God's name, what he thought fit out of the publick Purſe, and to ſpare no Coſt, till all were finiſhed.

Pericles *his brave Reply when accuſed for waſting publick Monies.*

At

At length being brought to puſh of Pike with *Thucydides*, upon Trial of Skill whether ſhould ſhell the other out of the Country, and having not without ſome hazard got the better, he threw his Antagoniſt out, and ſent him packing for ten years, and then routed and broke to pieces all the oppoſite Party, which had ſtood againſt him. So that now the difference and quarrel being wholly reſolved and at an end, and the City being as it were levelled into an even temper, and made of one piece, he in a trice brought about all *Athens* to his own devotion, and got the diſpoſal of all Affairs that belong'd to the *Athenians* into his own hands, their Cuſtoms, and their Armies, and their Gallies, and their Iſlands, and the Sea, and that great Power and Strength which accrued to them partly by means of the other *Grecians*, and partly alſo upon the account of the *Barbarians*; in a word, ſuch a Seignory and Dominion, as was mounded and fortified with ſeveral Nations that were ſubject to it, and with the Friendſhip and Amity of ſeveral Kings, and with the Alliances of Confederate Potentates and great Lords.

He foils Thucydides.

And rules all alone.

After this he was now no longer the ſame Man he had been before, nor at the ſame rate, as formerly, tame and gentle, and familiar with the Populace, ſo as readily to yield himſelf up to their Pleaſure, and to comply

He alters his Policy.

comply with the deſires of the Rabble, as a Steerſman tacks about with the Winds through all the Points of the Compaſs. But on the other hand, from that looſe, remiſs, and in ſome Caſes deboſh'd way of wheedling the People, he wound and skrew'd them up to an Ariſtocratical and Regal form of State and Government; and ſhewing himſelf upright and unblamable in his noble and ſincere Aim at the beſt things, he did by theſe means generally lead the People along with their own Wills and Conſents, by perſuading and ſhewing them what was to be done; and ſometimes too ruffling them, and forcing them full ſore againſt their Will, he made them whether they would or no to cloſe with what he propoſed for the publick Advantage.

He plays the State-Phyſician.

Wherein, to ſay the truth, he did but like a skilful Phiſician, who in a complicated and chronical Diſeaſe, as he ſees occaſion, one while allows his Patient the moderate uſe of ſuch things as pleaſe him, another while he applys Corroſives and ſharp Things to put him to pain, and adminiſters ſuch Medicines as may work the Cure. For there ariſing and growing up, as is likely, all manner of Diſtempers among a People which had ſo vaſt a Command and Dominion, he alone, as a great Maſter, knowing how with care to handle and deal with them all ſeverally, and in an eſpecial manner making that uſe of *Hopes* and

Fears

Fears as his two chief Rudders, as with the one to check and ſtop the career of their high-flown Confidence at any time, ſo with the other to raiſe them up and comfort them, when they lay under any diſcouragement: he plainly ſhewed by this, that *Rhetorick*, or the Art of ſpeaking, is, in *Plato*'s Senſe and Language, the Government of the Souls of Men, the wire-drawing of the Soul; and that her chiefeſt buſineſs and deſign is her Method and Artifice of managing the Affections and Paſſions, which are as it were the Pegs, the Stops and Keys of the Soul, which require a very skilful and careful touch and ſtroke to be plaid upon as they ſhould be. *The force of Rhetorick.*

Now the reaſon of this that made *Pericles* ſo prevailing, was not altogether barely the power and force of his Expreſſion and Language; but, as *Thucydides* aſſures us, the high Opinion which the People had of the Man, and the Reputation and Integrity of his Life, he being one who was clearly free from all Corruption or Bribery, and above all conſiderations of Mony. Who notwithſtanding he had made the City of *Athens*, which was great of it ſelf, as great and rich as can be imagined, and tho he were himſelf alſo grown in Power and Intereſt to be more than equal to many Kings and abſolute Lords, who ſome of them alſo bequeath'd by Will their Eſtates *His Reputation and Integrity.*

to their Children, he for his part did not improve the Patrimony his Father left him, or make it more than it was by one Groat or Dram.

Some Authors cenſure of his great Power.

However *Thucydides* doth indeed give a plain narrative of that great Power and Intereſt of his; and the *Comick Poets* do ſpitefully enough, as their manner is, more than hint at it, by covert Expreſſions; calling his Companions and Friends about him by the name of *Piſiſtratus* his new Courtiers, and demanding of him to abjure the ſetting up for a ſingle Perſon, or exerciſing an Arbitrary Power, as one whoſe Grandeur and Eminence were unproportionable to and incompatible with a *Democracy*, or popular Government, and grown to be a grievance not to be indured in a free State. Further, *Teleclides* ſaith, that the *Athenians* had betray'd and ſurrender'd up to him both the Cuſtoms and Impoſts of their ſubject Cities and the Cities themſelves, ſo as to bind up ſome and to let looſe others; and Stone-Walls, to build up what he pleas'd, and again to throw them down; Leagues of Alliance, the intereſt and ſtrength of the Nation, their Peace, and their Wealth and good Fortune.

The long time of his Government.

Nor was all this the buſineſs of a lucky hit by ſome emergent occaſion, nor was it the vigorous height and propitious favour of a State-management that flouriſhed for a ſeaſon; but having for forty years together bore

bore the Bell away among ſuch brave Stateſmen, as *Ephialtes* and *Leocrates*, and *Myronides* and *Cimon*, and *Tolmides* and *Thucydides* were, he after the overthrow and baniſhment of *Thucydides* kept up his Head ſtill for no leſs than fifteen Years longer; and having gotten a place of Command and Power, which was but one among the annual Magiſtracies (or Offices and Places of Truſt, to which there was a new Election every Year) he preſerv'd himſelf free and unprevail'd upon as to Mony or Bribes.

His thrifty management of his own Eſtate.

Tho otherwiſe he was not altogether idle or careleſs in looking after his own Advantage: but as to his paternal and perſonal Eſtate, which of right belonged to him, he ſo order'd it, that it might neither thro negligence be waſted or leſſen'd; nor yet, he being ſo full of buſineſs as he was, give him any great trouble, or coſt him much time with taking care of it, and put it into ſuch a way of management as he thought to be the moſt eaſy for himſelf, and the moſt exact for Thrift. For all his yearly Products and Profits he ſold together in a lump; and afterward buying every thing that he or his Family had, or might have need of out of the Market, he by this means ſupplied the concerns of his Houſe as to Suſtenance and Proviſion.

Upon which account it was, that his Children when they grew to Age, were not

well pleaſed with his Menage, and the Women that liv'd with him were treated with little coſt, inſomuch that they complain'd of this way of expence in his Houſe-keeping, which was order'd and ſet down from day to day, and contracted to the greateſt exactneſs of Thrift; ſince there was not there, as is uſual in a great Family and a plentiful Eſtate, any thing to ſpare, orover and above, but all that went out came in, all his Disburſements and Receipts were book'd and carried on as it were by Number and Meaſure.

His Houſe-keeping.

His Steward.

Now there was but one Menial Servant of his, *Evangelus* by name, who kept up all this ſtrictneſs of his Accounts; one naturally fitted, as no body elſe could be, for ſuch an imploy, or at leaſt bred up by *Pericles* himſelf to this Stewardſhip.

Anaxagoras ſlighted the World.

All this in ſooth was but the effect of his Tutor *Anaxagoras* his wiſe Inſtructions; tho he for his part by a kind of Divine impulſe and greatneſs of Spirit, which made him contemn the World, voluntarily quit his Houſe, and left his Land to lie fallow, and to be grazed by Sheep like a Common.

The difference betwixt a Philoſopher and Stateſman in the manner of their living.

But I muſt rationally ſuppoſe that the Life of a contemplative *Philoſopher* and that of an active *Stateſman* is not to be one and the ſame thing: for the one only imploys his Mind and Underſtanding about great and good things, which Mind of his wants

not

not the help of Inſtruments, nor needs the ſupply of any Materials from without for what it hath to do; whereas the other, who attempers and applies his Virtue to human uſes, may have occaſion ſometimes for plenty and abundance of outward things, not only thoſe which are neceſſary for his ſubſiſtence, but thoſe which are handſom alſo and ſutable to his Quality; which was *Pericles* his Caſe, who reliev'd abundance of the Poor.

And yet for all that there goes a Story, that his Tutor himſelf, poor *Anaxagoras*, while *Pericles* was taken up with publick Affairs, lay neglected; and that now being grown old, he muffled up himſelf with a reſolution to die for want of Food. Which thing being by chance brought to *Pericles* his Ear, he was ſtruck, and inſtantly ran to the Man, and uſed all the Arguments and Intreaties he could to him, lamenting not ſo much his Condition as his own, ſhould he loſe ſuch a Counſellor of State as he had found him to be. And that upon this, as the Story goes on, *Anaxagoras* ſhould unmuffle, and ſhewing himſelf make an anſwer, *Ah* Pericles, ſaid he, *even thoſe people who have occaſion for a Lamp, uſe to ſupply it with Oyl*; meaning, that if he would have him to live, he muſt allow him a Maintenance.

Anaxagoras greatly in want.

A notable ſaying of his.

The *Lacedæmonians* beginning to ſhew themſelves troubled at the greatneſs of the

A great project of Pericles *for a Convention of all* Greece.

Athenians, and to be jealous of the increaſe of their Power, *Pericles* on the other hand to advance the Peoples Spirit, and buoy it up yet more, and to put them upon great Actions and Exploits, propoſeth an Edict or Decree in Writing, to ſummon all the *Grecians*, in what part ſoever they dwelt, whether of *Europe* or *Aſia*; and that every City, little as well as great, ſhould ſend their Deputies to *Athens* to a general Aſſembly, or Convention of Eſtates, there to conſult and adviſe concerning the *Grecian* Temples which the *Barbarians* had ſet fire to, and burnt down, and the Sacrifices which they were indebted upon Vows they made to their Gods for the ſafety of *Greece*, when they fought againſt thoſe *Barbarians*, and the Sea-affairs, that they might henceforward all of them paſs to and fro and trade ſecurely, and be at a conſtant peace among themſelves.

Commiſſioners diſpatch'd to ſummon them.

Upon this Errand there were twenty Men, of ſuch as were each of them above fifty years of Age, ſent by Commiſſion: five whereof were to ſummon the *Ionians* and *Dorians* that were in *Aſia*, and the Iſlanders as far as *Lesbos* and *Rhodes*; and five were to go over all the places in *Helleſpont* and *Thrace* up to *Byzantium*, (now *Conſtantinople*) and other five beſide theſe to go to *Bœotia* and *Phocis* and *Peloponneſus*, (now called the *Morea*) and from hence to paſs through

through the *Locrians* Country over to the neighbouring Continent as far as *Acarnania* and *Ambraſia:* and the reſt of the Commiſſioners were to take their Courſe thro *Eubœa*, to the *Oetæans*, and the Gulf of *Malea*, and to thoſe of *Pthia* and *Achaia* and *Theſſaly*; all of them to treat with the People as they paſt, and to perſuade them to come in and bear their ſhare in the Debates and Concerts, which would be for ſettling the Peace, and regulating a-new the affairs of *Greece*.

The Project fails.

When all came to all, there was nothing done in this buſineſs, nor did the Cities meet by their Deputies, as was deſired; the *Lacedæmonians*, as it is ſaid, under-hand croſſing the deſign, the Trial whereof was diſappointed and baffled firſt in *Peloponneſus*. However I thought fit to bring in this Paſſage, to ſhew the ſpirit of the Man, and the greatneſs of his Mind for State-projects.

His military Conduct.

In this military Imploy and Conduct of his Soldiers he got himſelf a great Reputation for his warineſs in doing what he did ſecurely and ſafely, as one who would not by his good will ingage in any Fight, which had much uncertainty in the Event and hazard in the Enterprize, and one who envied not the Glory of thoſe Generals, whoſe raſh Adventures Fortune favour'd with good Succeſs beyond expectation, however they were admired by others as brave Men

and excellent Commanders, nor did he think them worthy his imitation: And was always uſed to ſay to his Citizens, that *if he could help it, what lay in his Power, they ſhould continue immortal and live for ever*; meaning that he for his part would ever be tender of their Lives, and not needleſly expoſe them.

A raſh attempt of Tolmides. To this purpoſe ſeeing *Tolmides* the Son of *Tolmæus*, upon the confidence of his former good Succeſſes, and fluſh'd with the great Honour his Warlike Atchievements had procured him, making preparation to attack the *Bœotians* in their own Country at an unſeaſonable time, when there was no likely opportunity for carrying the Deſign, and that he had prevail'd with the braveſt and higheſt-mettled Blades among all the City-ſparks to liſt themſelves as Voluntiers in the Service, who beſides his other Force made up a thouſand, he endeavour'd to divert and adviſe him from it, in the publick Aſſembly, telling him in that memorable Saying of his, which ſtill goes about, *That if he would not take* Pericles *his Advice, nor be ruled by him, yet he ſhould not do amiſs to await Time's leiſure, who is the wiſeſt Counſellor of all.* For this ſaying of his he was even at that time indifferently well approved and commended; but within a few days after, when the ſad News was brought that *Tolmides* himſelf was ſlain, having

The judgment of Pericles *upon it.*

The Event made it good.

having been defeated in the Battel near *Coronea*, and that a great many brave fellows of the Citizens fell with him, this that *Pericles* had ſaid gain'd him a high Reſpect, together with a great Love and Kindneſs among the People, looking upon him as a wiſe Man, and a Lover of his Country-men.

His Expedition to the Cherſoneſe in Thrace.

But of all the Expeditions which have been made, that of his about the *Cherſoneſe* the People were moſt fond of, and mightily taken with, it having proved ſo inſtrumental to the ſafety of thoſe poor *Greeks* who inhabited there. For he did not only by carrying along with him a thouſand freſh Citizens of *Athens* fortify and ſtrengthen their Cities with a competent Number of good ſtout Men; but alſo by bracing as it were the neck of Land, which joins the *Peninſula* to the Continent, with Bulwarks and Forts all the way from Sea to Sea, he kept off and put a ſtop to the inroads of the *Thracians*, who lay all about the *Cherſoneſe*, and ſhut out a continual and grievous War, with which that Country had been all along peſter'd and haraſſed, as being mingled here and there with neighbourhoods of barbarous People, and full of Robberies, what of *Moſs-Troopers* that were Borderers, what of *Banditti* that lived amongſt them.

Another round the Morea.

Nor was he leſs admir'd and talk'd of among Strangers and Foreigners for his ſailing round the *Peloponneſus*, having ſet out from a Port of *Megara*, called *Pegæ* or the Fountains, with a hundred Gallies. For he did not only pillage and lay waſte the Cities along the Sea-coaſt, as *Tolmides* had formerly done, but alſo advancing far from Sea up into main Land, with his Soldiers he had on Board, he made ſome People for fear of his coming ſhut themſelves up and keep cloſe within their Walls; and at *Nemea* he with main Force routed the *Sicyonians*, who ſtood their Ground and joined Battel with him, and made them turn their Backs, whereupon he ſet up a Trophy in token of his Victory. And having out of *Achaia*, in League then with *Athens*, taken on board of him a ſupply of Soldiers into the Gallies, he went off with the Fleet to the oppoſite Continent; and having ſailed along by the mouth of the River *Achelous*, he over-ran *Acarnania*, and ſhut up the *Oneadæ* (or Deſcendents of *Oneus*, the Governors of the Country) within the City-wall; and having ravaged and miſchiev'd their Country, he weigh'd Anchor for home with this double Advantage, that he appeared terrible and dreadful to his Enemies, and at the ſame time ſafe and wary, yet ſtout and active too to his Fellow-Citizens: for there was not any the leaſt miſ-

carriage

carriage or diſorder, ſo much as by miſfortune or chance, that happened the whole Voyage to thoſe who were under his charge.

Moreover when he ſailed to *Pontus* with a great Fleet and bravely equip'd, he accommodated the *Greek* Cities with what things they wanted or ſtood in need of, and treated them with great kindneſs and courteſy; but to the barbarous Nations that dwelt round about them, and to the Kings and Lords of thoſe Nations, he openly ſhew'd the Greatneſs of the *Athenians* Power, and how void of Fear and full of Confidence they were, ſailing wherever they had a mind, and bringing the whole Sea under their Dominion. Further he left the *Sinopians* thirteen Men of War with Soldiers under *Lamachus* his Command, to aſſiſt them againſt *Timeſileos* the Tyrant; and he and his Complices being thrown out, he made a Decree or Order of State, that ſix hundred of the *Athenians* who were willing to go ſhould ſail to *Sinope*, and plant themſelves there with the *Sinopians*, ſharing among them the Houſes and Land, which the Tyrant and his Party had formerly held. *Another to Pontus.*

But in other things he did not comply with the giddy Humours and eager Paſſions of the Citizens, nor quit his own Reſolutions, to go along with them at their mad rate, when being lifted up with the conſideration of that vaſt ſtrength they were *Curbs the Peoples extravagant Deſigns of making War abroad.*

Maſters

Maſters of, and of that great Succeſs Fortune had favoured them with, they were on gog both to ſeize upon *Egypt* again as their own by a former Conqueſt, and to diſturb thoſe Parts of the King of *Perſia*'s Dominions that lay near the Sea-ſide. Nay there were more than a good many, who were poſſeſs'd with a confounded and (as it would have proved then and hath done ſince) unfortunate Deſign for *Sicily*, a Heat which afterward the Orators of *Alcibiades* his Party blew up into a Flame. There were ſome alſo, who dreamed of *Tuſcany* and of *Carthage*; and not without reaſon or hope, they thought, becauſe of their large Dominion, and of the proſperous Courſe they had hitherto had of their Affairs.

He reſerves their Forces againſt the Lacedæmonians.

But *Pericles* curb'd this extravagant humour of making Excurſions abroad, and check'd their over-buſy Fancies, which put them upon meddling with ſo much buſineſs at once; and turned the moſt and greateſt part of their Force and Power to the preſerving and ſecuring of what they had already gotten, ſuppoſing it would be a conſiderable buſineſs if they could keep the *Lacedæmonians* under, or at leaſt in good order, he having all along a particular pique at them, which as upon many other occaſions, ſo he particularly ſhew'd by what he did in the time of the Holy War.

For

For whereas the *Lacedæmonians*, having gone with an Army to the City *Delphi*, reſtored *Apollo*'s Temple, which the *Phocians* had got into their poſſeſſion, to the *Delphians* again; immediately after their Departure, *Pericles* coming with another Army, brought in the *Phocians* again. And the *Lacedæmonians* having engraven an Oracle, (or be it a Privilege of conſulting the Oracle before others) which the *Delphians* gave them, upon the Forehead of a brazen Wolf which ſtands there; he alſo having received from the *Phocians* an Oracle or the like Privilege for his *Athenians*, had it cut upon the ſame Wolf of Braſs on his right ſide. *A Paſſage in the Holy War.*

Now that he did well and wiſely in this, that he kept the Force and Power of the *Athenians* within the compaſs of *Greece*, the Things and Paſſages themſelves, that happen'd afterward, did bear ſufficient witneſs. For in the firſt place the *Eubœans* revolted, againſt whom he paſt over with Forces; and then immediately after News came that the *Megarians* were ſet upon in War, and that the Enemy's Army was upon the Borders of the *Attick* Country under the Command and Conduct of *Pleiſtonax*, King of the *Lacedæmonians*. Wherefore *Pericles* went with his Army back again in all haſte out of *Eubœa*, to the War which threatned home; and becauſe there were many brave Fellows in Arms on the other *New Troubles ariſe.* *Thoſe of* Eubœa *revolt.* *The* Lacedæmonians *make an inroad.*

other ſide who dared him to fight, he did not venture to engage or to come to handy-blows with them: but perceiving that *Pleiſtonax* was a very young man, and that he govern'd himſelf moſtly by the Counſel and Advice of *Cleandrides*, whom the Overſeers or Curators of the State (whom they call *Ephori*) had ſent along with him by reaſon of his youth to be a kind of Guardian and Aſſiſtant to him; he privately applied his Temptation to him, and in a ſhort time having corrupted him with Mony, he prevailed with him to withdraw the *Peloponneſians* out of the *Attick* Country.

They are bought out.

When the Army was retir'd and diſperſed into ſeveral Quarters through their Towns and Cities, the *Lacedæmonians* being grievouſly offended at it, amerced their King in a great Sum of Mony by way of Fine, which he being not able to pay, quitted his Country, and remov'd himſelf from *Lacedæmon*; the other Gentleman, *Cleandrides*, who fled for it, having a Sentence of Death paſt upon him by them for betraying them. This Man was the Father of that *Gylippus*, who defeated the *Athenians*, and beat them ſo at *Sicily*. And it ſeems that this Covetouſneſs was an hereditary Diſeaſe that paſt from Father to Son: for he alſo whom we laſt mention'd was upon a like account caught in foul Practices, and was turned out of Town at *Sparta* for it. But this

Cleandrides ſentenced for his Treachery.

Gylippus his Son taken in the like Practice.

this is a Story we have told at large, where we diſcourſed the Affairs of *Lyſander*.

Now when *Pericles*, in giving up his Accounts of this Expedition, had ſet down a Diſburſement of ten Talents (which comes to about 1500 Pounds Sterling) as laid out upon a fit and uſeful Occaſion, the People without any more ado, not troubling themſelves to canvaſs the Myſtery, how it was expended, freely allow'd of it. And ſome Hiſtorians, in which number is *Theophraſtus* the Philoſopher, having reported it for a truth, that year by year *Pericles* ſent privately the aforeſaid Sum of ten Talents to *Sparta*, wherewith he complimented thoſe that were in any Office or place of Truſt to keep off the War; not to purchaſe Peace neither, but to redeem time, to the intent that having at leiſure provided himſelf, he might the better make a War hereafter.

Pericles his Accounts paſſ.

He keeps Penſioners at Lacedæmon.

Wherefore preſently upon this, turning his Forces againſt the Revolters, and paſſing over into the Iſland of *Eubœa* with fifty Sail of Ships and five thouſand Men in Arms, he overthrew and won their Cities, and drove out thoſe of the *Chalcidians*, whom they called *Hippobotæ*, i. e. Horſe-feeders, the chief Perſons for Wealth and Reputation among them: and removing all the *Heſtiæans* out of the Country, brought in a Plantation of his own Countrymen the *Athenians* in their room to dwell there by themſelves; treating

He chaſtiſeth the Eubœan *Revolters.*

treating thoſe People with that ſeverity, for that they having taken an *Attick* Ship, had put all the Men on board to death.

The War againſt Samos.

After this was over, having made a Truce between the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* for thirty Years, he orders by publick Decree an Expedition againſt the Iſle of *Samos*, upon this Pretence, that they, when they were bid to leave off the War they had with the *Mileſians*, did not as they were bid to do. But by reaſon that what he did againſt the *Samians*, he is thought to have done it in favour of *Aſpaſia*, and to gratify ſome Humour or Deſign of hers, (ſhe being that Country-woman) here in this place may be a fit occaſion moſt properly for us to make inquiry concerning this Woman, what cunning Art or charming Force ſhe had, ſo great as to inveigle and captivate, as ſhe did, the chief Perſons of the Government, and to afford the Philoſophers occaſion ſo much to diſcourſe about her, and not to her diſparagement neither.

The ſtory of Aſpaſia.

Now that ſhe was a *Mileſian* by birth, the Daughter of one *Axiochus*, is a thing acknowledged. And they ſay that ſhe in imitation of one *Thargelia*, a Courtiſan, one of the old *Ionian* ſtamp, uſed to make her Addreſſes to Perſonages of the greateſt Power, and to clap them on board. For that ſame *Thargelia* being a handſom Woman to ſee to, and having a graceful Carriage

Thargelia ſuch another.

riage and a ſhrewd Wit into the Bargain, kept Company with a great many of the *Greeks*, and wrought all thoſe who had to do with her over to the *Perſian* King's Intereſt: and by their means, being Men of the greateſt Power and Quality, ſhe ſow'd the Seeds of the *Median* Faction up and down in ſeveral Cities.

A ſhrewd Woman and much frequented.

And for this *Aſpaſia*, they ſay that ſhe was courted and careſſed by *Pericles* upon the account of her Wiſdom and Knowledg in State Affairs. For *Socrates* himſelf would ſometimes go to viſit her, and ſome of his Acquaintance with him; and thoſe who uſed her Company would carry their Wives along with them to her, as it were to Lecture, to hear her Diſcourſe: tho by the way the Houſe ſhe kept was little other than a Vaulting School, ſhe being a *Governante* of no modeſt or creditable Imploy, but keeping a parcel of young Wenches about her, who were no better than they ſhould be. Now *Eſchines* ſaith alſo that there was one *Lyſicles* a Graſier or Muttonmonger, who of a great Clown and a pitiful Sneaksby, as naturally he was, did by keeping *Aſpaſia* Company after *Pericles* his Death, come to be a chief Man among the People of *Athens*. And in a Book of *Plato*'s, intituled *Menexenus*, tho the firſt part of it is written with ſome Pleaſantry and Sport, yet there is ſo much of Hiſtory in it, that

ſhe was a Woman, with whom many of the *Athenians* convers'd, and often reſorted to, as the common Opinion was, upon the account of her Rhetorick, and her abilities of Diſcourſe.

But I muſt needs ſay for *Pericles* his ſhare, that the inclination and fancy he had for her appears rather to have proceeded from the Paſſion of Love. For he had a Wife that was near of kin to him, who had been married formerly to *Hipponicus*, by whom ſhe had a Son, *Callias* by name, ſirnamed the Rich; as alſo ſhe brought *Pericles*, while ſhe liv'd with him, two Sons *Xanthippus* and *Paralus*. Afterwards when they could not well agree nor like to live together, he parted with her, being willing and conſenting to it, to another Man, and himſelf took *Aſpaſia* to Wife, whom he dearly loved with wonderful Affection; for every day, both as he went out, and as he came in from Buſineſs abroad, he conſtantly ſaluted and kiſs'd her.

Pericles his former Wife.

He marries Aſpaſia.

In the Comedies ſhe goes by the Nicknames of young *Omphale* and *Deianira*, (the one *Hercules* his Miſtreſs, the other his Wife) and again, ſhe was called *Juno*, (as *Pericles* himſelf was called *Jupiter*.) *Cratinus* hath plainly and in down-right terms given her out for a Whore or Harlot in theſe Verſes, ſpeaking of her Mother.

The Poets lampoon her.

Of Juno, *fair* Aſpaſia *by Name,*
The good old Beldame's ſafely brought to Bed;
A wanton Minks, a Whore, a Thing paſt ſhame,
Bitch'd-fac'd, and born without a Maiden-Head.

It ſhould ſeem alſo that he had a Baſtard by her, concerning whom *Eupolis* in a Play of his, called, *The publick Affairs*, brings in *Pericles* asking in this manner;

And is my Baſtard-Son alive, d'ye ſay?

And then brings in *Pyronides* making anſwer:

Alive, and would e're this many a fair day
Have been a Man, did not fear of foul play
From th' Whore his Mother keep him at a ſtay.

Further they ſay that this *Aſpaſia* was ſo celebrated and renowned a Beauty in her time, that *Cyrus* alſo, who made War againſt his Brother King *Artaxerxes* for the *Perſian* Monarchy, gave her whom he loved the beſt of all his Miſſes or Concubines, the name of *Aſpaſia*, who before that was called *Milto*. She was a *Phocian* by Birth, the Daughter of one *Hermotimus*, who when *Cyrus* fell in Battel, was carried to

Another ſo called, Concubine to Cyrus.

the King, and was in great Favour at Court. Theſe things coming into my Memory, as I am writing this Story, it would not peradventure be civil for me to lay aſide and paſs them by.

An account of the Samian War. Now the thing they quarrel with *Pericles* for, was, that he propoſed to the Aſſembly the War againſt the *Samians*, and had it enacted mainly in favour of the *Mileſians*, upon the Requeſt and Intreaty of *Aſpaſia*.

The ground of it. For theſe two States waged a War for the Maſtery of *Priene*, and the *Samians* getting the better on't refus'd to lay down their Arms, and to have the Controverſy betwixt them debated and decided before the *Athenians*, as they ordered they ſhould, and to ſtand to their award.

Pericles *changes their Government.* Wherefore *Pericles* providing a Fleet, went and broke up the *Oligarchy* which was at *Samos*, (that is, the Government managed by ſome few of the Great ones) and

He takes Hoſtages of them. taking fifty Hoſtages of the principal Perſons of the Town, and as many of their Children, he ſent them to the Iſle of *Lemnos*, there to be kept.

They proffer Mony. Tho there are ſome do ſay that every one of thoſe Hoſtages did ſeverally proffer him a Talent a Head by way of Ranſom, and that thoſe who had no mind to have a *Democracy* or popular Government in the City, tendred him many other Preſents. Moreover *Piſſuthnes* the *Perſian*, one of the King's

King's Lord-Lieutenants, bearing ſome Good-will to the *Samians*, ſent him ten thouſand Piſtols or Pieces of Gold to excuſe the City. Howbeit *Pericles* would receive none of all this, but after he had taken that Courſe with the *Samians*, as he thought fit, and ſet up a Democracy among them, he ſail'd back to *Athens*. *He refuſeth it.*

But they immediately revolted, *Piſſuthnes* having privily convey'd away their Hoſtages for them, and provided themſelves with all things neceſſary for the War. Whereupon *Pericles* came out with a Fleet a ſecond time againſt them, whom he found not idle with their Hands in their pockets, nor in a ſneaking Poſture, as if they were daunted at his coming, but altogether manfully reſolved to try for the Dominion of the Sea. *They revolt.*

The iſſue of it all was, that after a brisk and ſharp Sea-fight about the Iſland called *Targia*, (that is, the Iſle of Goats) *Pericles* obtain'd a gallant Victory, having with forty and four Sail, took, routed, and ſunk, threeſcore and ten of the Enemies, whereof twenty were Men of War. *They are beaten in a Fight at Sea.*

And together with his Victory and Purſuit having made himſelf Maſter of the Port or Harbour, he laid Siege to the *Samians*, and block'd them up, who yet notwithſtanding were ſo hardy and venturous as to make Sallies out, and fight un- *They are block'd up in Town.*

der the City Walls. But after that another greater Fleet, ſent as a freſh ſupply from *Athens*, was arriv'd, and that the *Samians* were now ſhut up with a cloſe Leaguer on every ſide, *Pericles* taking with him threeſcore Gallies, ſailed out into the main Sea; with a reſolution, as moſt Authors give the account, to meet with a Squadron of *Phenician* Ships, that were coming for the *Samians* relief and aſſiſtance, and to fight them at as great diſtance as could be from the Iſland; but, as *Steſimbrotus* will have it, with a deſign of putting over to *Cyprus*: which doth not ſeem to be probable. But which ſoever of the two was his intent, 'tis plain he was in an error, and by his doing as he did, gave occaſion to a ſcurvy miſcarriage.

Pericles goes off with 60 Gallies.

For he being put out to Sea, *Meliſſus* the Son of *Ithagenes*, a Man of parts, and a Philoſopher, being at that time Admiral of *Samos*, made but little reckoning either of the Ships that were left in reſpect of their ſmall number, or of the Commanders themſelves in regard of their want of Skill, and upon this account prevailed with the Citizens to attack and ſet upon the *Athenians*. And the *Samians* having won the Battel, and taken ſeveral of the Men Priſoners, and ſunk and ſpoil'd ſeveral of the Ships, were maſters of the Sea, and brought into Port what Neceſſaries they wanted for the War,

The Samians take the advantage, and get a Victory.

and

and had not before. *Ariſtotle* ſaith too, that *Pericles* himſelf had formerly been worſted and beaten by this *Meliſſus* in a Sea-fight.

Now the *Samians*, that they might requite an Affront which had before been put upon them, mark'd (either by an Inſcription or Brand) thoſe *Athenians* whom they took Priſoners in their Foreheads with the Picture of an *Owl*) which is their City-Creſt.) For ſo the *Athenians* had mark'd them before with a *Samæna*, which is a ſort of Ship, ſomewhat low and flat in the fore-part of it, ſo as to look ſnut-noſed, but wide and large, and well ſpread in the hold, by which it both keeps ſnug upon the Water, and proves a ſwift ſailor beſides. And it was ſo called, becauſe the firſt of that kind was ſeen at *Samos*, having been built by order of *Polycrates* the Tyrant. To theſe Marks or Brands upon the *Samians* Foreheads, they ſay, that that paſſage in *Ariſtophanes* hath a ſecret alluſion, where he ſaith,

They mark the Athenian *Priſoners with an Owl,*

As the Athenians *had done them with a* Samæna.

The Samian *People (ſie for ſhame!)*
For ſtore of Letters have great Fame.

Pericles, as ſoon as News was brought him of the Diſaſter that had befaln his Army, made all the haſte he could to come in to their relief, and having got the better

Pericles *relieves the Army.*

Beats the Samians. of *Melissus*, who bore up against him, and having put the Enemies to flight, he presently hemm'd them in with a Wall, resolving to master them and take the Town, rather with some Cost and Time, than with the Wounds and Hazards of his Citizens.

Incloseth them with a Wall.

But inasmuch as it was a hard matter to keep in or hold back the *Athenians*, who were vexed at the Delay, and were eagerly bent to fight, he dividing the whole multitude into eight Parts or Bodies of Men, ordered the Business by Lot so, that that part which had the *white Bean* should have leave to feast and take their Ease, while the other seven were busy a fighting. For which reason they say also, that People, when at any time they had been merry and enjoy'd themselves, call such a Day a *White Day*, in allusion to this white Bean.

He orders a Lottery by a white Bean.

Engines of Battery. *Ephorus* the Historian tells us besides, that *Pericles* made use of Engines of Battery in this Siege, being much taken with the strangeness of the Invention, and that he plaid them in the Presence of *Artemo* himself the Engineer; who being lame, was used to be carried about in a Litter or Sedan upon occasion of Business where his attendance was required, and for that reason was called *Periphoretus*. But *Heraclides Ponticus* disproves this out of *Anacreon*'s Poems, where mention is made of this *Artemo Periphoretus* several Ages before the *Samian* War,

Artemo why called Periphoretus.

Another account of him.

War, or any of thoſe Paſſages. And he ſays that *Artemo* being a Man who lov'd his Belly and his Eaſe, and had a tender apprehenſion of Danger, ſo as to be ſtruck down with fear at the very Thoughts of it, did for the moſt part keep cloſe within door, having two of his Servants to hold a brazen Shield over his Head, that nothing might fall upon him from above: and if he were at any time forced upon neceſſity to go abroad, that he was carried about in a Pallankeen or little hanging Bed, cloſe to the very Ground almoſt, and that for this reaſon he was called *Periphoretus*.

Pericles takes the Town.

In the ninth Month the *Samians* ſurrendring themſelves, and delivering up the Town, *Pericles* pull'd down their Walls, and ſeiz'd their Shipping, and ſet a Fine of a great ſum of Mony upon them; part of which they paid down upon the Nail, and the reſt they agreed to bring in by a certain time, and gave Hoſtages for ſecurity.

Duris gives a tragical account of it.

Now *Duris* the *Samian* makes a Tragical outcry of this Story, charging the *Athenians* and *Pericles* with a great deal of Cruelty, which neither *Thucydides*, nor *Ephorus*, nor *Ariſtotle* hath given any relation of: (but it is likely enough that that Author had little regard to Truth in his ſo doing;) as that he brought the Captains of the Galleys and the Seamen into the Market-place at *Miletum*, and there having bound them

them fast to Boards for ten days, he then gave order to have them, poor Wretches, who were already as good as half dead, to be kill'd, by beating out their Brains with Clubs, and their dead Bodies to be flung out into the open Streets and Fields unburied.

And is censured for it.

But as for *Duris*, he being one, who even where he hath no private concern of his own, is not want to keep the hiſtorical Accounts he gives within the compaſs of truth, it is the more likely that upon this occaſion he hath aggravated the Calamities which befel his Country, on purpoſe to draw an *odium* upon the *Athenians*.

Pericles *takes care for the burial of his dead.*

Pericles, after the Overthrow of *Samos*, as ſoon as he returned back to *Athens*, he took care that thoſe who died in the War ſhould be honourably buried, and made ſuch a Funeral Harangue, as the cuſtom is, in their Commendation at their Graves and Monuments, that he was highly admired and eſteemed for it.

The Ladies compliment him.

As he came down from the Pulpit (or Place where they delivered their Speeches) the reſt of the Ladies came and complimented him, taking him by the Hand, and crowning him with Garlands and Ribbons, as they uſed to do Gameſters that won the publick Prizes; only *Elpinice* coming near to him, ſaith ſhe, *Theſe are brave things*, Pericles, *that you have done, and*

Elpinice *privately twits him.*

and ſuch as deſerve our Chaplets, who have loſt us as many brave worthy Citizens, not in a War with Phœnicians *or* Medes, *(Enemies and Foreigners) as my Brother* Cimon *wont to do, but for the overthrow of a City that was in Alliance and of the ſame Country and Kindred with us.* As *Elpinice* ſpoke theſe Words, he gently ſmiling, as 'tis ſaid, returned her this Verſe of *Archilochus* for Anſwer; *He anſwers her pleaſantly.*

Old Woman, as you are,
You ſhould not powder Hair,
Nor, as you walk, perfume the Air;
Leave theſe things to the Young and Fair.

Now *Ion* ſaith of him, that upon this Exploit of his conquering the *Samians*, he entertained a ſtrange and high Conceit of himſelf, in that, whereas *Agamemnon* was ten Years a taking a barbarous City, he had in nine Months time vanquiſhed and taken the chiefeſt and the moſt powerful People among all the *Ionians*. And indeed it was not without reaſon that he aſſumed this Glory to himſelf; for, to ſay the truth, there was much Uncertainty and great Hazard in this War, if ſo be (as *Thucydides* tells us) the *Samian* State were come to that pitch, that they were within a very little of wreſting the whole Power and Dominion of the Sea out of the *Athenians* hands. *He is ſaid to have been conceited of this Victory.* *As he had reaſon.*

After

The occaſion of the Peloponneſian *War.*

After this was over, a War from *Peloponneſus* already breaking out in full Tide, he adviſed the People to ſend Help and Aſſiſtance to the *Corcyræans*, (the People of the Iſland now called *Corfu*) who were invaded and ſet upon by the *Corinthians*, and to take into their Protection and Alliance an Iſland ſo ſtrengthened, as that was, with naval Power; ſeeing that the *Peloponneſians* were already, more than ever, made Enemies againſt them.

Pericles *ſends Aid to* Corcyra, *by* Lacedæmonius.

The Commons readily conſenting to the motion, and voting an Aid and Succour for them, he diſpatch'd away *Lacedæmonius*, *Cimon* s Son, having only ten Ships along with him, as if it were out of a deſign to affront and abuſe him. For there was a great Kindneſs and Friendſhip betwixt *Cimon*'s Family and the *Lacedæmonians*; wherefore that *Lacedæmonius* might lie the more open to a Charge, or Suſpicion at leaſt, of favouring the *Lacedæmonians*, and playing booty with them, if he performed no conſiderable or handſom Exploit in this Conduct and Service, he allowed him ſuch a ſmall number of Ships, and ſent him out againſt his Will: And indeed he did wholly by all means he could make it his buſineſs to hinder *Cimon's* Sons from riſing in the State, pretending that by their very Names they were not to be look'd upon as Natives of the Country, or right-bred *Athenians*, but

His ſpite to Cimon's *Family.*

Foreigners

Foreigners and Strangers, inaſmuch as one's Name was *Lacedæmonius*, another's *Theſſalus*, and the third's *Elius*; and they were all three of them, as it was thought, born of an *Arcadian* Woman.

He ſends more help, but too late.

Wherefore *Pericles* being but ill ſpoken of upon the account of theſe ten Gallies, as having afforded but a ſmall Supply to the poor People that deſired it, and given a great Advantage to thoſe who might call him in queſtion, he ſent out ſome more other Ships afterwards to *Corcyra*, which arrived after the Fight was over; that is, as we ſay, came a day after the Fare, when it was too late.

Several complaints from the other Greeks againſt the Athenians.

Now when the *Corinthians*, being deadly angry with the *Athenians*, accuſed them publickly at *Lacedæmon*, the *Megarians* joined with them, complaining that they were, contrary to common Right and the Articles of Peace agreed upon Oath among the *Grecians*, kept out and driven away from every Market and from all Ports, where the *Athenians* had to do, to the hindrance of Commerce and the decay of their Trade. And thoſe of *Ægina*, appearing to have been grievouſly ill uſed and treated with Violence, made their Supplications in private to the *Lacedæmonians* for redreſs, as not daring openly to call the *Athenians* in queſtion. In the mean time the City *Potidæa*, (being under the Dominion of the *Athenians*

thenians then, but a Colony formerly of the *Corinthians*) having revolted was beſet with a formal Siege; which prov'd an occaſion of haſtning on the War.

The Buſineſs of Megara *the main occaſion of the War.*

Nay and yet notwithſtanding all this, there being Embaſſies ſent to *Athens*, and *Archidamus* the King of the *Lacedæmonians* endeavouring to bring ſeveral of thoſe Complaints and Matters in diſpute to a fair Determination and Deciſion, and to pacify and allay the Heats of the allied Parties, it is very likely that the War would not upon any other Grounds of Quarrel have faln from all ſides upon the *Athenians*, could they have been prevail'd with to repeal that Ordinance and Decree of theirs againſt the *Megarians*, and to be reconciled to them. Upon which account, ſince *Pericles* was the Man who mainly oppoſed it, and ſtirr'd up the People, continuing in his peeviſh and ſtubborn Reſolution of Unkindneſs and Quarrelſomneſs againſt thoſe of *Megara*, he alone bore the blame, and was looked upon as the only Cauſe and Promoter of the War.

Ambaſſadors ſent from Lacedæmon *about it.*

They ſay moreover that Ambaſſadors went by Order from *Lacedæmon* to *Athens* about this very Buſineſs; and that, when *Pericles* pretended a certain Law, which forbad the taking down the Tablet, wherein the Decree or publick Order was written, one of the Ambaſſadors, *Polyarces* by

by Name, ſhould ſay, *Well! do not take it down then, but turn the Tablet inward; for there is no Law, I ſuppoſe, which forbids that.* This tho it were prettily ſaid, and might have ſerv'd for a handſom Expedient, yet *Pericles* did not at all relent nor bate an ace of his Reſolution.

Polyarces his Device to reconcile the Quarrel.

There was then, in all likelihood, ſome ſecret Grudg and private Animoſity, which he had againſt the *Megarians*. Yet he upon the pretence of a publick and manifeſt Charge againſt them, as that they had cut down a holy Grove dedicated to the Gods, or imbezelled a piece of Ground conſecrated to pious Uſes, writes an Order, that a Herald ſhould be ſent to them, and the ſame Perſon to the *Lacedæmonians*, with an Accuſation of the *Megarians*. This Order of *Pericles*, truth is, ſhews an equitable and friendly Proceeding enough.

The ground of the Athenians Quarrel againſt the Megarians.

But after that the Herald who was ſent, by name *Anthemocritus*, died, and it was thought that the *Megarians* had contriv'd his death and made him away, then *Charinus* writes a Decree againſt them, that there ſhould be an irreconcilable and implacable Enmity thenceforward betwixt the two Common-wealths; and that if any one of the *Megarians* ſhould but ſet his Foot upon any part of the *Attick* Territories, he ſhould be put to death: and that the Commanders, when they take the uſual Oath, ſhould,

The Quarrel improv'd by the Herald's death, who was ſent to them.

ſhould, over and above that, ſwear that they will twice every year make an inroad into the *Megarians* Country; and that *Anthemocritus* ſhould be buried near the *Thriaſian* Gates, which are now called the *Dipylon* or Double Gate.

The Megarians *Reflection upon the Herald's Death.*

On the other hand, the *Megarians* utterly denying and diſowning the Murder of *Anthemocritus*, throw the whole buſineſs, and the guilt, if any, upon *Aſpaſia* and *Pericles*: to which purpoſe they make uſe of thoſe famous and commonly known Verſes out of a Play of *Ariſtophanes*, called the *Acharnes*.

Youngſters of Athens *went to* Megara,
Mad-fuddle-caps, to keep blind Holiday,
And ſtole Simætha *the Town-Whore away.*

Nettled at this, Megarian *Youths did plot*
Repriſal, and to Town by ſtealth they got,
Where two Aſpaſian *Harlots went to pot.*

Pericles *hindred the razing of the Decree againſt the* Megarians, *and why.*

The true Riſe and Occaſion of this War, what it might be, is not ſo eaſy to find out. But that that Decree we mentioned, was not repeal'd and annul'd, all do alike charge *Pericles* with being the cauſe of that. However there are ſome who ſay that he did out of a great ſenſe and height of Spirit ſtand it out ſtifly, with a Reſolution for the beſt; accounting that the Precept and Order of thoſe Embaſſies was deſigned for a trial of their

their compliance and yieldingneſs, and that a Conceſſion would be taken for a confeſſion of Weakneſs, as if they durſt not do otherwiſe. And others there are who ſay that he did rather in an arrogant Bravado and a wilful humour of Contention, to ſhew his own Gallantry and Power, ſlight and ſet little by the *Lacedæmonians*.

The likeliest reaſon why Pericles hinder'd it.

But that which is the worſt cauſe and charge of all, and which is confirmed by moſt Witneſſes, we have in a manner ſuch an account as this given of it. *Phidias* the Plaiſterer or Image-maker had, as hath before been ſaid, undertaken to make the Statue of *Minerva*. Now he being familiarly acquainted with *Pericles*, and a great Favorite of his, had many Enemies upon his account, who envied and maligned him: Who alſo to make trial in a caſe of his, what kind of Judges the Commons would prove, ſhould there be occaſion to bring *Pericles* himſelf before them, having tampered with *Menon* one who had wrought with *Phidias*, they place him in the Court with a Petition, deſiring publick Security upon his Diſcovery and Impeachment of *Phidias* for things done by him againſt the State. The People admitting of the man to tell his Story, and the Proſecution being agreed upon in the Aſſembly, there was nothing of Theft or Cheat charg'd againſt him. For *Phidias* had immediately from the very

Phidias a Favorite of Pericles accuſed by Menon.

firſt beginning ſo wrought and wrapt the Gold, that was uſed in the Work, about the Statue, and that by the Advice of *Pericles*, that they might take it all off and make out the juſt weight of it; which *Pericles* alſo at that time bad the Accuſers to do.

His main Crime, the rarity of his Work.

But the Glory and Reputation of his Work was that which burden'd *Phidias*, and cruſh'd him with Envy; eſpecially this, that where he repreſents the Fight of the *Amazons* upon the Goddeſſes Shield, he had expreſs'd a kind of Figure or Reſemblance of himſelf, like a bald old Man, holding aloft a great Stone with both Hands; and had put in a very fine Picture of *Pericles* fighting with an *Amazon*. And the faſhion and poſture of the Hand, which held out the Spear over-againſt *Pericles* his Face, was with that curious Art contrived, as if it meant to hide the likeneſs, which by the by ſhew'd it ſelf on either ſide.

He is ſentenced to Priſon, and there dies.

Well! poor *Phidias* was carried away to Priſon, and there died of a Diſeaſe, but as ſome ſay, of Poiſon, to raiſe a Slander or a Suſpicion at leaſt upon *Pericles*, tho it were by the Procurement and Preparation of his Enemies.

Menon's Reward.

As to the Informer *Menon*, upon *Glycon*'s propoſal, the People made him free from Payment of Taxes and Cuſtoms, and ordered the Commanders to take care of the Man's

Man's ſafety, that no body might do him any harm.

About this time *Aſpaſia* was indicted of Impiety or Irreligion, upon the Complaint of *Hermippus* a Writer of Comedies, who alſo laid further to her Charge, that ſhe was Bawd to *Pericles*, and entertained Citizens Wives and Daughters for his uſe. And *Diopithes* propoſed a Decree, that Information ſhould be given in againſt ſuch Perſons as deny a Deity, and thoſe who teach or make Diſcourſes concerning Meteors and other Appearances in the Sky; by theſe laſt Words aiming in ſhow at *Anaxagoras*, but really ſtriking at *Pericles*. *Aſpaſia impeached.*

The People receiving and admitting all Accuſations and Complaints, as they came, at length by this means they came to enact a Decree, at the motion of *Dracontides*, that *Pericles* ſhould bring in the Account of the Monies he had expended, and lodg them with the *Prytanes*, the Magiſtrates and Judges of the Treaſury; and that the Judges carrying their Suffrage from the Altar ſhould examine and determine the Buſineſs in the City. This indeed *Agnon* took out of the Decree, but moved that Cauſes ſhould be tried before the 1500 Judges, whether one would name it an Action of Robbery, or of Bribery, or of any whatever Injuſtice. *Pericles order'd to bring in his Accounts.* *This Order put into general terms.*

Aſpaſia *begged off by* Pericles.

As to *Aſpaſia*, *Pericles* made ſhift to beg her off, having ſhed abundance of Tears at the Trial, as *Æſchines* makes the Relation, and beſought the Judges in her behalf. But fearing how it might go with *Anaxagoras*, he ſent him away, and brought him onward on his way out of the City. And whereas he had in *Phidias* his Caſe miſcarried, and found the People aukward and averſe, being afraid of a Court of Judges, he ſet Fire to the War, which hitherto had lingred and ſmothered, and blew it up into a Flame; hoping by that means to ſcatter thoſe Miſts of Impeachments which they were raiſing againſt him, and to lower that Envy which hung over him; the City uſually throwing her ſelf upon him alone, and truſting to his ſole Conduct, upon the urgency of great Affairs and publick Dangers, by reaſon of his Authority and the Sway he bore.

He ſends away Anaxagoras.

He promotes the War.

And theſe are given out to have been the Cauſes, for which *Pericles* would not ſuffer the People of *Athens* to comply with the *Lacedæmonians*, or yield to their Propoſals. However the Truth of it, whether it were ſo or no, cannot be well known.

A Meſſage from the Lacedæmonians *to the* Athenians.

The *Lacedæmonians* for their part having an aſſurance, that if they could pull him down and remove him out of the way once, they might be at what Terms they pleaſed with the *Athenians*, they ſent them Word, that

that they ſhould expiate and drive out from among them that horrid Crime (meaning the Pollution of *Cylon*) wherewith the Kindred of *Pericles* on the Mother's ſide were tainted, as *Thucydides* hath told the Story. But the Buſineſs prov'd quite contrary to what thoſe who ſent this Meſſage expected. For inſtead of bringing *Pericles* under a Suſpicion and a Reproach, they brought him into a far greater Credit and Eſteem with his Citizens, as a Man whom their Enemies did moſt mightily hate and fear. Wherefore before *Archidamus*, who was at the Head of the *Peloponneſians*, made his Incurſion upon *Attica*, *Pericles* told the *Athenians* aforehand, that if *Archidamus*, while he laid waſte and made havock of every thing elſe in the Country, ſhould forbear and ſpare his Eſtate he had there, either upon pretence of ſome Friendſhip, or Right of Hoſpitality, that was betwixt them (as having been one another's Gueſts at ſome time or other) or out of purpoſe to give his Enemies an occaſion of traducing and ſpeaking Evil of him, that then he did freely beſtow upon the State all that his Land and Houſes in the Country to be employ'd in the publick Uſe and Service.

It doth not ſucceed.

Pericles prevents Suſpicion of Compliance.

Well, the *Lacedæmonians* together with their Allies come with a great Army and invade the *Athenian* Territories, under the Conduct of King *Archidamus*; and laying waſte

The Lacedæmonians come in with a great Army.

the Country, march'd on as far as *Archanæ*, and there pitch'd their Camp; preſuming that the *Athenians* would never endure that, but would come out and fight them for their Country's and their Honour's ſake. But *Pericles* look'd upon it as a dangerous and diſmal Adventure, to ingage in Battel, were it in defence of the City it ſelf, againſt threeſcore thouſand armed Men of *Peloponneſians* and *Bœotians*, for ſo many they were in number, that made the Inroad at firſt: And he endeavoured to appeaſe thoſe, who were deſirous to fight, and were griev'd and diſcontented to ſee how things went, and gave them good Words, ſaying, That *Trees when they are lopt and cut, grow up again in ſhort time, but Men being once loſt and ſpoil'd cannot eaſily be recover'd again.*

Pericles n't for giving them Battel.

He did not convene the People into an Aſſembly, for fear they ſhould force him from his own Reſolution, or drive him beſide his own Purpoſe: But like a skilful Steers-man or Pilot of a Ship, who, when a Storm ariſeth, or a ſudden guſt of Wind ſets hard at Sea, having put all things on Board to rights and fitted his Tackle, he makes uſe of his Art of Navigation, and minds the Buſineſs of the Ship, taking no notice of the Tears and Intreaties of the Sea-ſick and fearful Paſſengers: ſo he having ſhut up the City-gates, and placed Guards

He minds the publick Buſineſs, without conſulting the publick, or taking notice of Peoples Diſcontents.

Guards at all Poſts for ſecurity, made uſe of his own Reaſons and Purpoſes, little regarding thoſe that bawl'd out againſt him, and were angry at his Management. Altho there were a great many of his Friends that lay hard at him, requeſting him to do otherwiſe, and many of his Enemies threatning and accuſing him for doing as he did; and many made Ballads, and Lampoons, and Libels upon him, which were ſung about Town to his Diſgrace, reproaching his Generalſhip for being cowardly, and throwing up tamely or treacherouſly all their Concerns into the Enemies Hands.

And *Cleon* alſo, having got into Credit and Favour with the People ſo as to ſet up for a Demagogue, and ſeeing how the Citizens were diſpleaſed with him, ſtuck cloſe to him and abuſed him; as *Hermippus* hath made it appear in theſe *Anapæſts* of his, a kind of Comick or Lyrick Verſes: Cleon *a Ringleader of the Male-contents.*

Why, King of Satyrs, doſt thou fear
To wield the Sword, or toſs the Spear;
Content to talk big Words of War;
Acting as Tele's * *Soul poſſeſt*
The Cavern of thy Coward-breaſt?

* *A notorious Coward.*

The Whetſtone ſharpens blunted Swords,
But nothing can on Thee prevail:
Cleon *throws out provoking Words;*
But Thou canſt bear, as long as He can rail.

However *Pericles* was not at all moved by any of theſe Practices of theirs, but took all patiently, and in ſilence underwent the Diſgrace they threw upon him, and the Ill-will they bore him. And ſending out a Fleet of a hundred Sail to *Peloponneſus*, he did not go along with it in Perſon, but ſtaid behind, that he might look after home and keep the City in order, till the *Peloponneſians* ſhould break up Camp and be gone. Yet to court and careſs the common People, who were jaded and in diſorder about the War, he reliev'd and refreſh'd them with Diſtributions of publick Monies, and made a Law for the Diviſion of Lands by Lot, and the Plantation of Colonies. For having turn'd out all the People of *Ægina*, he parted the Iſland among the *Athenians*, according as their Lot fell.

Pericles ſends out a Fleet to the Enemies Country.

He diviſes Monies and Lands among the People.

And there it was ſome comfort to them and eaſe in their Miſeries, even from what things their Enemies endured. For they in the Fleet ſailed round the *Peloponneſe*, ravaged a great deal of the Country, and pillaged and plundered the Towns and ſmaller Cities. And by Land he himſelf went with an Army into the *Megarian* Country, and made

The Enemies ſuffe-rings equal to theirs.

made havock of it all. By which means it appears, that the *Peloponneſians*, tho they did the *Athenians* a world of Miſchief by Land, yet ſuffering as much themſelves from them by Sea, would not have drawn out the War to ſuch a length, but would quickly have given it over, as *Pericles* at firſt foretold they would, had not ſome Divine Power croſt human Purpoſes.

A great Plague breaks out.

Now in the firſt place there was a peſtilential Diſeaſe or Murrain, that ſeiz'd upon the City, and ate up all the Flower and Prime of their Youth and Strength. Upon occaſion of which Diſtemper, the People, being afflicted in their Souls as well as in their Bodies, were utterly inraged like Madmen againſt *Pericles*; and in the ſame nature as Patients being grown delirious in a high Fever uſe to behave themſelves toward their Phyſician, or be it their Father, were ready to fall foul upon him and do him a Miſchief. For it had been buzz'd in their Ears by his Enemies, as if he were in the fault, perſuading them that the occaſion of the Plague was the crouding of ſo many Country People together into a Town; in that they were forced now in the Summer time in the heat of the weather to dwell a great many of them together in pitiful little Tenements and ſultry Hovels, enough to ſtifle them; and to be tied to a lazy courſe of Life within doors, when as before

The cauſe of it imputed to Pericles.

before they lived in a pure, open and free Air. The Cauſe and Author of all this, ſaid they, is he, who upon the account of the War hath poured a multitude of People from the Country in upon us within the Walls, and puts ſo many Men as he has here upon no employ or ſervice, but keeps them pent up like Cattel in a Pound, and lets them be over-run with Infection from one another, affording them neither ſhift of Quarters, nor any Refreſhment.

He goes out with a great Fleet.

He deſigning to remedy theſe things, and withal to do the Enemy ſome Inconvenience, got a hundred and fifty Sail of Ships ready, and fill'd them with Men: and having embarked many ſtout Soldiers, both Foot and Horſe, was about to weigh Anchor, giving great Incouragement of hope to his Citizens, and no leſs an Alarm of fear to his Enemies, upon the ſight of ſo great a Force. And now the Veſſels having their complement of Men, and *Pericles* being gone aboard the Admiral his own Galley, it happened that the Sun was in an Eclipſe, and it grew dark on a ſudden, to the extreme Affrightment of them all, looking upon it as a diſmal Token, and an unlucky ill-boding *Omen*. Wherefore *Pericles* perceiving the Pilot or Steerſman ſeiz'd with a great Fear, and at a ſtand what to do, he took his Cloak and put it before the Man's Face, and muffling him

An Eclipſe of the Sun happens.

His Device to cure the Pilot of his fear.

him up in it that he could not ſee, he asked him whether he did imagin there was any dreadful thing or great hurt in this that he had done to him, or whether he thought it was the ſign of any Hurt. He anſwering, No; *Why*, ſaid he, *and what does that there differ from this, only that that which hath cauſed that Darkneſs there, is ſomething greater than a Cloak?* But theſe are things fit to be diſcourſed in the Schools of Philoſophy.

Well, *Pericles*, after he had put out to Sea, as he ſeems not to have done any other Exploit befitting ſuch an Apparade and Equipage; ſo when he had beſieged the holy City *Epidaurus*, which gave him ſome hope as if it would or might be taken, he miſcarried in his Deſign by reaſon of the Sickneſs. For it did not only ſeize upon the *Athenians* and deſtroy them, but alſo without any difference any others that upon any occaſion mix'd with them, or had ought to do in the Army, it carried them off too for company.

He beſieg-eth Epidaurus, *but miſ-carries.*

After this finding that the *Athenians* were very ill affected towards and highly diſpleaſed with him, he tried and indeavoured what he could to appeaſe them by giving them good Words, and to reincourage their Confidence in him. But he could not pacify or allay their Anger, nor perſuade them to an thing, nor prevail with them any way, till they freely paſt their Votes upon him,

He cajoles the People in vain.

and

He is turned out of Office and fined.

and taking the ſtaff into their own hands they took away his Command from him, and fined him in a ronnd ſum of Mony, which by their Account who ſay leaſt, was fifteen Talents, and they who reckon moſt name fifty. Now he who was ſet down at his Trial to be his Accuſer, was *Cleon*, as *Idomeneus* tells us; but *Simmias*, according to *Theophraſtus*; and *Heraclides Ponticus* has named *Lacratidas* for the Man.

His domeſtick Misfortunes.

After this, the publick Heats and Affairs too might quickly come to a repoſe and be at quiet, the Commonalty having diſcharged their Spleen and Paſſion upon him (as Waſps do their Sting) together with the mortal Wound they gave him. But his private domeſtick Concerns were in a wretched untoward condition, he having loſt not a few of his Friends and Acquaintance in the Plague time, and thoſe of his Family having long ſince been in diſorder and in a kind of mutiny againſt him. For the eldeſt of his lawfully begotten Sons, *Xanthippus* by name, being both by nature given to Expence, and marrying a young and coſtly Dame, the Daughter of *Iſander*, (who was the Son of *Epylicus*) was highly offended at his Father's niggardly thrift, making him but a ſcanty bare Allowance, and giving it him by little and little at a time. Wherefore he ſent to a Friend one day, and borrowed ſome Mony of him, in his

His eldeſt Son's quarrel to him.

his Father *Pericles* name, pretending it was by his Order. But the Man coming afterward to demand the Debt, *Pericles* was ſo far from yielding to pay it, that he arreſted the Man, and enter'd an Action againſt him. Upon which the young man *Xanthippus* thought himſelf ſo heinouſly uſed and highly diſobliged, that he openly reviled his Father.

He abuſeth his Father with ſleries.

And firſt by way of Droll and Raillery he ridicul'd him by telling Stories, what his Carriage and Converſation were at home, and what kind of Diſcourſes he had with the Sophiſters and Scholars that came to his Houſe. As for inſtance, how *Epitimius* the *Pharſalian* (one who was a Practiſer of all the five Games of Skill) having with a Dart or Javelin unawares againſt his Will ſtruck and kill'd a Horſe that ſtood in the way, his Father ſpent a whole Day with *Protagoras* in a ſerious and learned Diſpute, whether the Javelin, or the Man that threw it, or the Maſters of the Game who appointed theſe Sports, were according to the ſtricteſt and beſt reaſon to be accounted the cauſe of this Miſchance or Horſe-ſlaughter; whereas, and make the worſt of it, it was but chance-medley. Further, beſide this, *Steſimbrotus* tells us, that it was *Xanthippus* himſelf, who ſpread among the People that infamous Story concerning his own Wife, how his Father ſhould make him a Cuckold: and that this untoward grudg

A Law-caſe about the Death of a Horſe.

of

of the young Man's againſt his Father, and unnatural breach betwixt them, which was never to be healed or made up, continued with him till his very dying Day. For *Xanthippus* died in the Plague-time of the Sickneſs.

Pericles his loſs of Friends by death.

At which time *Pericles* alſo loſt his Siſter, and the greateſt part of his Kinsfolks and Friends, and thoſe who had been moſt uſeful and ſerviceable to him in managing the Affairs of State. However he did not ſhrink or give out upon theſe occaſions, nor betray or lower his high Spirit, and the Greatneſs of his Mind, under all his Misfortunes, and thoſe Calamities which befel him. Nay, ſo unconcern'd and ſo great a Maſter of his Paſſions he was, at leaſt ſeemed to be, that he was never known to weep or to mourn, and pay the Funeral Rites to any of his dead Friends, nor was ſo much as ſeen at the Burial of any of his Relations, till at laſt he loſt the only Son which was left of thoſe who were lawfully begotten, his Son *Paralus*. This touch'd him home, and made him bow and relent; and yet he ſtrived what he could to maintain his Principle of Gravity, and to preſerve and keep up the Greatneſs of his Soul. But all would not do: for when he came to perform the Ceremony of putting a Garland or Chaplet of Flowers upon the Head of the Corps, he was vanquiſhed by his Paſſion at the

His unconcernedneſs.

His young Son's death troubles him.

the ſight, ſo that he burſt out a crying, and pour'd forth abundance of Tears, having never done any ſuch thing in all the reſt of his Life before.

After all, the City having made trial of other Generals for the Conduct of War and Orators of Buſineſs of State, when they found there was no one who was of weight enough to counterballance ſuch a Charge, or of Authority ſufficient to be truſted with ſo great a Command; then they began to deſire their old Friend and Servant *Pericles*, and ſolemnly inviting him to the Tribunal or Pleading-Place, deſired him to accept of the Office of General or Commander in chief again. He was then in a very penſive Condition, and kept in at home, as a cloſe Mourner; but was perſuaded by *Alcibiades* and other of his Friends to come abroad, and ſhew himſelf to the People: Who having upon his Appearance made their Acknowledgments, and apologized for their Ingratitude and untowardly Uſage of him, he undertook the Publick Affairs once more, and being choſen *Prætor* or chief Governor, he brought in a Bill that the Statute concerning Baſtard-Iſſue, which he himſelf had formerly cauſed to be made, might be repealed; that ſo the Name and Race or Offspring of his Family might not, for want of a lawful Heir to ſucceed, be wholly and utterly loſt and extinguiſhed.

He is invited again to the Government.

He undertakes it.

Now

The Law of Baſtardy.

Now the buſineſs of that Statute or Law ſtood thus. *Pericles*, when long ago he flouriſhed in the State, and had (as has been ſaid) Children lawfully begotten, propoſed a Law, That thoſe only ſhould be reputed true Citizens of *Athens*, who were born of ſuch Parents as were both *Athenians*. After this the King of *Egypt* having ſent to the Commons, by way of Preſent, forty thouſand Buſhels of Wheat, which were to be diſtributed and ſhared out among the Citizens, there ſprung up a great many Actions and Suits againſt Baſtards, by virtue of that Edict, which till that time had not been known, nor taken notice of; and ſeveral Perſons beſides were trapann'd and inſnar'd by falſe Accuſations. There were little leſs than five thouſand, who were caught in this State-trap, and having loſt the Freedom of the City were ſold for Slaves; and thoſe who induring the Teſt remained in the Government, and paſt muſter for right *Athenians*, were found upon the Poll to be fourteen thouſand and forty Perſons in number.

An inſtance of its inconvenience.

Pericles *his Propoſal to repeal it.*

Now tho it look'd ſomewhat odd and ſtrange, that a Law, which had been carried on ſo far againſt ſo many People, ſhould be broken and cancel'd again by the ſame Man that made it; yet the preſent Calamity and Diſtreſs, which *Pericles* labour'd under as to his Family, broke through all Objections

Objections, and prevail'd with the *Athenians* to pity him, as one who by thoſe Loſſes and Misfortunes had ſufficiently been puniſhed for his former Arrogance and Haughtineſs. And therefore being of Opinion, that he had been ſeverely handled by Divine Vengeance, from which he had ſuffered ſo much, and that his Requeſt was ſuch as became a Man to ask and Men to grant; they yielded that he ſhould inroll his Baſtard-Son in the Regiſter of his own Ward by his paternal Name. This very Son of his afterward, when he had defeated the *Peloponneſians* in a Sea-fight near the Iſlands called *Arginuſæ*, was put to Death by the People, together with his Fellow-Citizens, his Collegues in that Commiſſion.

His Baſtard-Son legitimated.

About that time, when his Son was inroll'd, it ſhould ſeem, the Plague ſeiz'd *Pericles*, not with ſharp and violent Fits, as it did others that had it, but with a dull and lingring Diſtemper, through various Changes and Alterations, leiſurely by little and little waſting the ſtrength of his Body, and undermining the noble Faculties of his Soul. So that *Theophraſtus* in his Morals, having made a moot-point, Whether Mens Manners change with their Fortunes, and their Souls being jogg'd and diſturb'd by the Ailings of their Bodies do ſtart aſide from the Rules of Virtue; hath left it upon Record, that *Pericles*, when he was ſick,

Pericles ſick of the Plague.

ſhew'd one of his Friends that came to viſit him an Amulet or Charm, that the Women had hung about his Neck; as much as to ſay, that he was very ſick indeed, when he would admit of or indure ſuch a Foolery as that was.

Wears an Amulet about his Neck.

When he was drawing on and near his time, the beſt of the Citizens, and thoſe of his Friends, who were left alive, ſitting about him, were diſcourſing of his Virtue and Authority, how great it was, and were reckoning up his famous Actions and Atchievements, and the number of his Victories; for there were no leſs than nine Trophies, which he as their chief Commander and Conqueror of their Enemies had ſet up for the Honour of the City and State. Theſe things they talk'd of together among themſelves, as though he did not underſtand or mind what they ſaid, but had been utterly bereft of his Senſes. But he had liſtned all the while, and given good heed to all the Paſſages of their Diſcourſe; and ſpeaking out to them ſaid, that he wondered they ſhould commend and take notice of thoſe things in him, which were as much owing to Fortune as to any thing elſe, and had happen'd to many other Captains in former Times as well as to him; and that at the ſame time they ſhould not ſpeak or make mention of that which was the moſt excellent and greateſt thing of all. *For*, ſaid he,

As his Friends were diſcourſing of him,

He overbears 'em, and makes a worthy Reply.

he, *there was never any of all my Fellow Citizens that ever wore Black, or put on Mourning, upon my account or long of me*: meaning that he had not in all his Government been the Cauſe of any one's Death, either by ordering or procuring it.

A brave Man, a wonderful great Perſonage, without all peradventure! not only upon the account of his gentle Behaviour and mild Temper, which all along in the many affairs of his Life, and thoſe ſhrewd Animoſities which lay upon him, he conſtantly kept up and maintain'd, but alſo of his generous great Spirit and high Sentiment, that he eſteem'd that to be the beſt of all his good Qualities, that having been in ſuch an abſolute uncontroulable Power, as he had had, he never had gratified his Envy or his Paſſion in any thing to an other Man's hurt, nor ever had treated any Enemy of his, as if he were incurable, that is, unreconcileable, and one who in time might not become a Friend. And to me it appears that this one thing of him did make that otherwiſe childiſh and arrogant Title they gave him in nicknaming him *Olympius* (that is, the Heavenly or Godlike) to be without Envy and truly becoming him; I mean his kind and courteous Carriage, and a pure and untainted unblemiſh'd Converſation in the height of Power and Place. According to thoſe Apprehenſions and Reſent-

An Encomium of him.

His good Qualities made him deſerve the Title of Olympius.

ments we have of the Gods themſelves in their kind: whom, upon this account that they are naturally the Authors of all Good things, and are not the Authors of any Evil, we do think worthy to rule and govern the World.

The Poets miſtake who aſcribe Paſſions to the Gods.

Not as the Poets rudely fancy, who confounding us with their fooliſh unmannerly Conceits and Opinions, are taken tardy in their own Poems and fictious Stories, when they call the Place indeed wherein they ſay the Gods made their abode, a ſecure and quiet Seat, free from all Hazards and Commotions, not troubled with Winds, nor darkned with Clouds; but at all times alike ſhining round about with a ſoft Serenity and a pure Light, inaſmuch as ſuch a temper'd Station is moſt agreeable and ſuitable for a bleſſed and immortal Nature to live in: and yet in the mean while do affirm that the Gods themſelves are full of Trouble, and Enmity, and Anger, and other Paſſions which no way become or belong to even Men that have any underſtanding. But this will perhaps ſeem a ſubject fitter for ſome other Conſideration, and that ought to be treated of in ſome other place.

Pericles is miſt after his Death.

Well! the Succeſs of publick Affairs after *Pericles* his death did beget a quick and ſpeedy ſenſe of his Loſs, and want and deſire of ſuch a Conduct as his had been. For thoſe who, while he lived, ill reſented his great

great Authority, as that which eclipſed them and darkned their Lights, preſently after his quitting the Stage making trial of other Orators and Demagogues, did readily acknowledge that there never had been in Nature ſuch a Diſpoſition as his was, either more moderate and reaſonable in the height of that State he took upon him, or more grave and ſolemn in the Methods of that Mildneſs which he uſed. And that invidious pretended Arbitrary Power, about which they made ſuch a noiſe, and formerly gave it the Name of Monarchy and Tyranny, did then appear to have been the chief Rampart and Bulwark of Safety, which the Government and Common-wealth had. So great a Corruption, and ſuch abundance of wicked Ill-humours had got into publick Affairs, which he by keeping them weak and low did cover and diſguiſe from being much taken notice of, and by curbing of them did hinder them from growing incurable through a licentious Impunity.

His ſeeming Arbitrarineſs excuſed and commended.

The End of Pericles's *Life.*

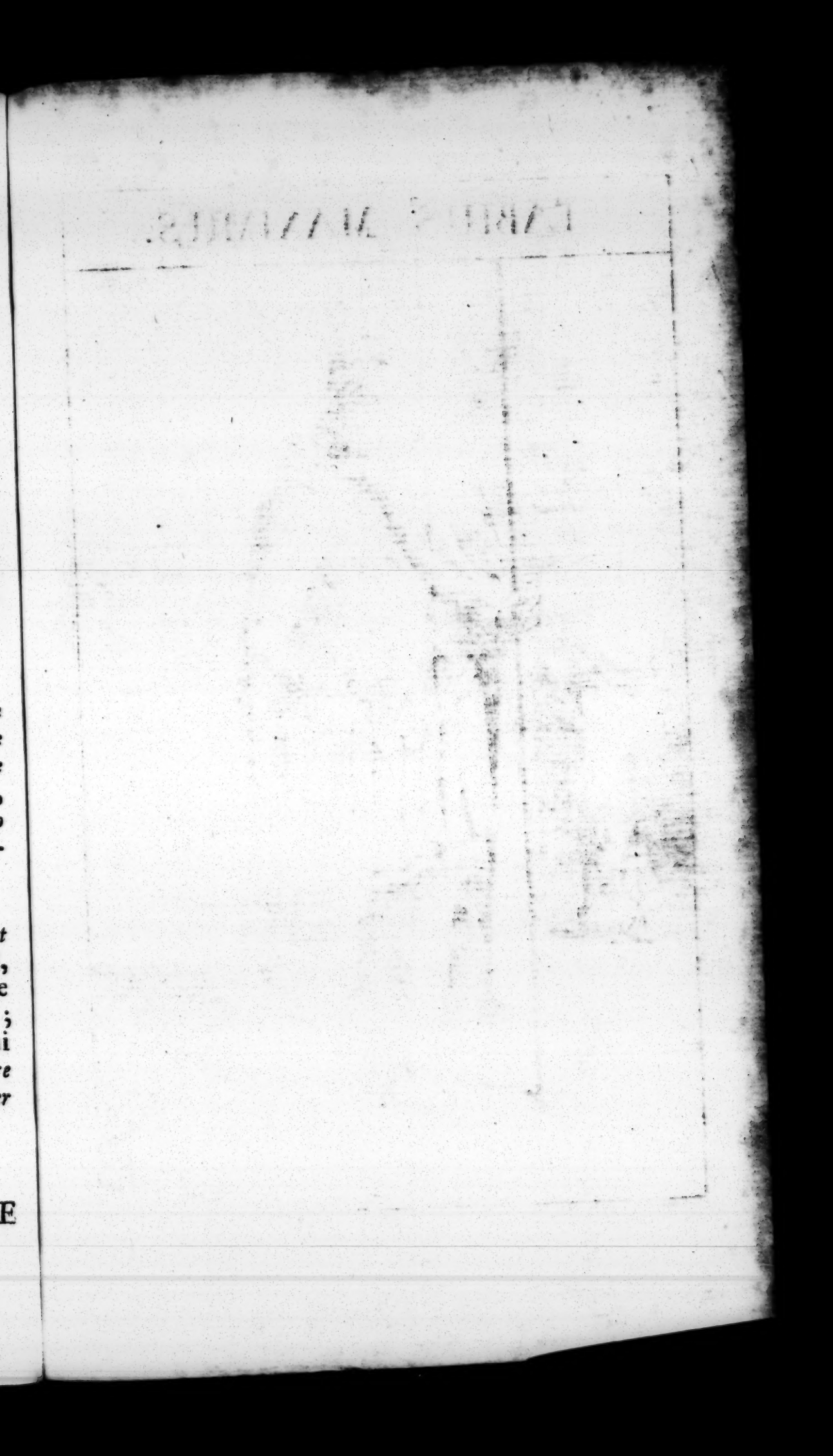
The Tranſlator of *Pericles*'s Life his Advertiſement to the Reader.

OUR great Author having a peculiar Idiom of his own, and a Propriety of Stile by himſelf, in the uſe of ſuch Words and Phraſes, as are hardly to be met with in any other Greek *Writer*; *it would require as much Pains, and take up as much Paper to juſtify the Tranſlation, as it did to make it. I ſhall only charge this vacant Page with two or three brief Notes of that nature.*

Cæſar ſeeing belike——took occaſion to ask.] *In the* Greek *it is,* ἰδὼν ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀνηρώτησεν. *Where* ὡς ἔοικεν, *ſtanding in the middle as it doth, is referrible to both Verbs: that he ſaw them as it hapned, that is,* belike; *and that as it was meet or apt for one to do he ask't them, that is, as I expreſt it,* he took occaſion to ask.

Bitch-fac'd.] *So properly* Κυνῶπις *ſignifies. That which follows,* and Born without a Maiden-head, *alludes to a Paſſage in* Petronius Arbiter, where Quartilla *I take it, ſpeaking of her ſelf, ſaith thus*; Junonem iratam habeam, ſi me unquam memini fuiſſe virginem: *meaning, that ſhe had been a Whore time out of mind, and could not her ſelf remember that ever ſhe was a Maid.*

THE



FABIUS MAXIMUS.

THE LIFE OF FABIUS M.

Tranſlated from the Greek,
By *JOHN CARTL*, Eſq;

HAving related the memorable Actions of *Pericles*, let us now proceed to the Life of *Fabius*. It is ſaid, that the firſt of the Name was a Son of *Hercules*, and of a Nymph, or ſome Woman of that Country, who brought him forth on the Banks of *Tiber*, and that he was a Perſon famous and powerful in *Rome*: Others will have it, that they were firſt called *Fodians*, becauſe the Race of them delighted in digging Pit-falls for wild Beaſts, and that in proceſs of Time, and by corruption of Language, they grew to be called

Fabians. But theſe things be they true or falſe, certain it is, that this Family hath for a long time yielded great ſtore of eminent Perſons; our *Fabius*, who was fourth in deſcent from that *Fabius Rutilianus*, who firſt brought the Honourable Sirname of *Maximus* into his Family, was alſo by way of Nick-name called *Verrucoſus* from a Wart on his upper Lip; and in his Childhood they in like manner named him *Ovicula*, by reaſon of his extream mildneſs of Nature. His ſlowneſs in Speaking, his long labour and pains in Learning, his little concern in the Sports and Divertiſements of his Equals, his eaſie ſubmiſſion to every Body, as if he had no Will of his own, made thoſe who judged ſuperficially of him (the number of which ſort of Judges is always the greateſt) eſteem him inſenſible and ſtupid; and few were they, who could penetrate into the firmneſs of his Courage, and greatneſs of his Mind. But as ſoon as he came into Employments, his Virtues exerted and ſhewed themſelves; his reputed Dulneſs did then appear to be the ſteddineſs and intrepid bravery of his Soul; his ſlowneſs in Words and Actions, to be the Effect of a conſummated Prudence, which always laid them by, till they were thorowly ripe; and his eaſie compliance to the bent of others, to be a noble Pride of his Heart, thinking it beneath him to contend about trifles.

Fabius,

Fabius, conſidering that the Grandeur of *Rome* proceeded from Military Virtue, and was by the ſame means to be preſerved, did therefore inure his Body to labor and exerciſe, wiſely judging that natural ſtrength was the beſt Armor: He alſo train'd himſelf in the Art of ſpeaking and perſwading; for Words and Diſcourſes are the Engines, by which Minds are moved. And he attained to ſuch a kind of Eloquence, that his manner of ſpeaking and of acting was perfectly the ſame: for tho it had not much of Ornament, nor Artifice, yet there was in it great weight of Senſe; it was ſtrong and ſententious, much after the way of *Thucydides*. We have yet extant his Funeral Oration upon the Death of his Son, who died Conſul, which he recited before the People.

Fabius *by generous Purpoſes aſpires to Renown.*

He was five times Conſul, and in his firſt Conſulſhip had the Honour of a Triumph for the Victory he gained upon the *Liguri-ans*, whom he defeated in a ſet Battle, and drove them to take ſhelter in the *Alps*, from whence they never after made any Inrode, nor Depredations upon their Neighbours. After this *Hannibal* came into *Italy*, who at his firſt Entrance having gained a great Battle near the River *Trebia*, travers'd all *Tuſcany* with his victorious Army, and deſolating the Country round about, fill'd *Rome* it ſelf with Aſtoniſhment and Terror.

Hanni-bal's *firſt prodigious march into* Italy.

Beſides

Beſides unuſual Thunder and Lightning then hapning, the report of ſeveral ill-boding Portents did much increaſe this popular Conſternation. For it was ſaid, that ſome Targets did ſweat Blood; that at *Antium*, when they reap'd their Corn, many of the Ears were fill'd with Blood: That it had rained Fire; that the *Phalerians* had ſeen the Heavens open, and ſeveral Scrolls in forms of Lots falling down, in one of which it was plainly writ, *Now* Mars *himſelf does brandiſh his Arms.* But theſe Prodigies had no effect upon the impetuous and fiery Temper of the Conſul *Flaminius*, whoſe natural promptneſs had been much heightned by his late Victory over the *Gauls*, though he fought them contrary to the Order of the Senate and the Advice of his Collegue; ſo that nothing would ſatisfie him but a Battle with *Hannibal*. *Fabius* on the other ſide thought it not ſeaſonable to engage with the Enemy; not that he much regarded thoſe talk'd of Prodigies, which he took to be either fictitious or caſual; but in regard the *Carthaginian* Army was in a waſting condition, without a poſſibility of Recruits, without Magazines, the Soldiers unpaid; ſo that their only hope and ſafety was in a Battle: But if let alone, watch'd and obſerved, the neighbouring Gariſons in the mean time being well ſecur'd, and the *Roman* Allies defended, their Vigour would ſoon

ſoon expire, like a Flame for want of Aliment. Theſe weighty Reaſons prevail'd not with *Flaminius*, who proteſted, he would never ſuffer that the Enemy ſhould advance one ſtep further, and that he would not be reduc'd, like *Camillus* in former time, to fight for *Rome* within the Walls of *Rome*. Accordingly he ordered the Tribunes to draw out the Army into the Field; and as he would not be diſſuaded by the reaſons of his Collegue from this precipitous Reſolution, ſo neither was he deterr'd by an ill preſaging Accident which befel him at his ſetting forth; for he no ſooner got on Horſeback, but the Beaſt fell into ſo violent a fit of trembling and bounding, that he caſt his Rider headlong on the Ground. This notwithſtanding, away he marcheth up to *Hannibal*, who was poſted near the Lake *Traſimena* in *Tuſcany*. And it is to be obſerv'd, that during the Ingagement, there hapned ſo great an Earthquake, that it deſtroyed ſeveral Towns, altered the courſe of Rivers, tore off the Tops of Mountains: yet ſuch was the Eagerneſs of the Combatants, that they were ſenſible of no other Concuſſion or Agitation, but what themſelves made.

Fabius's deliberate Advice ineffectual to move Flaminius.

In this Battle *Flaminius* fell, having given many proofs of his Strength and Courage, and round about him lay all the braveſt of the Army: In the whole, Fifteeen thouſand

He dies couragiouſly.

thouſand were killed, and as many made Priſoners. *Hannibal*, deſirous to beſtow Funeral Honours upon the Body of *Flaminius*, made diligent ſearch after it, but could never find what became of it. Though the Loſs was ſo conſiderable, yet there was no Art uſed to diſſemble it at *Rome*; as there had been, upon the former Ingagement near *Trebia*: for then, neither the General who writ, nor the Expreſs who told the News, related it otherwiſe than as a drawn Battle, with equal Loſs on either ſide: But now, as ſoon as *Pomponius* the Pretor had the Intelligence, he cauſed the People to aſſemble, and without diſguiſing the Matter, told them plainly, *We are beaten* (*O* Romans) *our Army is defeated, the Conſul* Flaminius *is killed; think therefore, what is to be done for your Safety.* The ſame Commotion, which a furious Wind doth cauſe in the Ocean, did theſe Words of the Pretor raiſe in the Minds of ſo vaſt a Multitude: But the rage of their Grief being a little over, the Danger at hand did at laſt awaken their Judgments into a Reſolution to chuſe a Dictator, who by the Sovereign Authority of his Office, and by his Perſonal Capacity of Wiſdom and Courage, might be able to manage the publick Affairs, become almoſt deſperate, and to ſit at the Helm in ſo great a Storm. Their Choice unanimouſly fell upon *Fabius*, in whom was join'd a venerable

Fabius by general Conſent choſen Dictator.

rable Gravity of Manners, with a Spirit not to be daunted with any Difficulty or Danger; whoſe Age was ſo far advanced, as to give him Experience, without taking from him the vigour of Action: ſo that his Body could execute what his Soul deſign'd; and in him was the happy mixture of Caution and Boldneſs. *Fabius* being thus inſtalled in the Office of Dictator, in the firſt place he gave the Command of the Horſe to *Lucius Minutius*; and next he asked leave of the Senate for himſelf, that in time of Battle he might ſerve on Horſe-back, which by an Antient Law amongſt the *Romans* was forbid to their Generals; whether it were, that placing their greateſt Strength in their Foot, they would have their Commanders in Chief poſted amongſt them; or elſe let them know, that how great ſoever their Authority were, the People and Senate were ſtill their Maſters, of whom they muſt ask leave. But then again, to make the Authority of his Charge more awful, and to render the People more ſubmiſs and obedient to him, he cauſed himſelf to be accompanied with four and twenty Lictors; and when the Conſul came to viſit him, he ſent him word, that at his Audience he ſhould diſmiſs his Lictors with their Faſces (the enſigns of Authority) and appear before him only as a private Perſon.

The

His Zeal for the performance of religious Duties.

The firſt ſolemn Action of his Dictature was to order publick Prayers to be made to the Gods, and to admoniſh the People, that their late Overthrow did not befall them through want of Courage in their Souldiers, but through the neglect of Divine Ceremonies in the General. He therefore exhorted them not to fear the Enemy, but by extraordinary Honours to appeaſe the Gods. This he did, not to fill their Minds with Superſtition, but only to raiſe their Courage, and leſſen in them the fear of the Enemy, by making them believe, that Heaven was on their ſide. In order hereunto the Sibylline Books were conſulted, in which they conceived, the ſecrets of Deſtiny and future Events were to be learnt; but whoever look'd into them, was under a tye of Secrecy not to reveal what they found. After this he aſſembled the People, and made a Vow before them to offer in Sacrifice the whole Product of the next Seaſon all *Italy* over, of the Cows, Goats, Swine, Sheep, both in the Mountains and the Plains: and the more to ſolemnize this great Vow, he commanded the preciſe ſum of 333 Seſterces, and 333 Pence, and one third of a Penny, to be expended upon feſtival Games in honour of the Gods. What his Myſtery might be in that number is not eaſy to determine, unleſs it were in regard of the Perfection of the Number of three, as being the firſt

firſt of odd Numbers, the firſt that contains in it ſelf multiplication, with all the other Properties belonging to any whatſoever Numbers beſides.

In this manner *Fabius* having raiſed the hearts of the People, by making them believe that the Gods took their Part, and by the ſame means having made them ſupple and pliant to his Will, he, for his own part, plac'd his whole Confidence in himſelf, believing that the Gods beſtowed Victory and good Fortune only upon the valiant and the prudent. Thus prepar'd, he ſet forth to oppoſe *Hannibal*, not with intention to fight him, but to wait upon him, to ſtraiten his Quarters, to cut off his Proviſions, and by ſo doing to make his victorious Army moulder away, and conſume with Penury and Want. With this deſign he always incamp'd on the higheſt Grounds, where their Horſe could have no Acceſs to him. He ſtill kept pace with them; when they marched he followed them; when they incamped he did the ſame, but at ſuch a diſtance as not to be compell'd to an Ingagement, and always keeping upon the Hills, free from the Inſults of their Horſe: by which means he gave them no reſt, but kept them in a continual Alarm.

He prudently manages the War with Hannibal

But this his dilatory fencing way gave occaſion both at *Rome*, and even in his own Camp,

Camp, to ſuſpect his want of Courage; and this Opinion prevail'd alſo in *Hannibal*'s Army, who was himſelf the only Man who was not deceived, and who clearly ſaw his own Ruin in his Enemies Conduct. Wherefore he reſolved with all the Arts and Subtleties of War to break his Meaſures, and ſo bring *Fabius* to an Ingagement; like a cunning Wreſtler, who watcheth every Opportunity to get good hold and cloſe with his Adverſary. Sometimes he draws up his Men to the very Intrenchments of the Eneny, reproaching the *Romans* with their Cowardiſe, ſo to exaſperate and incenſe then againſt their General; then again he makes a Retreat to a good diſtance, that ſo he might draw them out to fall upon his Rear. At other times in ſight of the *Roman* Camp he waſtes and burns the Countries round, to increaſe the Clamour of the People againſt *Fabius*. All this Artifice though it had no effect upon the Firmneſs and Conſtancy of the Dictator, yet upon the common Souldiers, and even upon the General of the Horſe himſelf it had too great an Operation: For this *Minutius* began to have a Contempt of the General, and his way of proceeding, which he miſconſtrued to be a timorous Cunctation; ſo that in his Harangues he humoured the Souldiery in their mad fondneſs of coming to a Battle, and in their Scorn and

Hannibal *politickly provokes the* Romans *to engage.*

and Reproaches which they caſt upon *Fabius*; calling him the Pedagogue of *Hannibal*, ſince he did nothing elſe but follow him up and down, and look and wait upon him. At the ſame time they cried up *Minutius* for the only Captain worthy to command the *Romans*, whoſe Vanity and Preſumption did thereupon ſwell to that degree, that he inſolently rallied *Fabius*'s Incampments upon the Mountains, ſaying, that he lodged them there, as on a Theatre, to behold the Flames and Deſolation of their Country. And in his vain fit he would ſometimes ask the very Friends and Domeſticks of the General, whether it were not his meaning by ſo leading them from Mountain to Mountain, to carry them at laſt (having no hopes on Earth) up into Heaven, and hide them in the Clouds from *Hannibal*'s Army? When his Friends related theſe things to the Dictator, perſuading him, that to avoid the general Obloquy, and the danger that might thereupon enſue, he would ingage the Enemy: His anſwer was, *I ſhould be more faint-hearted than they make me, if through fear of idle Reproaches I ſhould abandon my own Reaſon. It is no inglorious thing to have fear for the ſafety of our Country. That Man is not fit to rule others, who ſhall be ſtartled and give ground upon the noiſe of Rumours and Calumnies; for in ſo doing he ſubjects himſelf and his Govern-*

ment to the Fancy of thoſe whom he ought to command.

Through unskilfulneſs in the Language he commits a great Error.

But an overſight of *Hannibal*, at this time committed, did happily allay theſe Diſtempers in the *Roman* Camp: For he, deſirous to refreſh his Horſe in ſome good Paſture-grounds, drew off his Army, and ordered his Guides to conduct him to *Caſinum*. They miſtaking him, by reaſon of his ill pronouncing the *Latin* Tongue, led him and his Army to the Town of *Caſilinum*, near *Campania*, which the River *Vulturnus* divides in two: The Country about it is a Valley circled round with Mountains, which inlargeth it ſelf towards the Sea, near which that River overflowing, cauſeth a great deal of Marſh Ground; and at laſt diſcharging it ſelf into the Sea, makes a very unſafe Coaſt, without any Harbour. As ſoon as *Hannibal* was entred into this Valley, *Fabius* diſpatch'd four thouſand choice Men to ſeize the entrance into it, and ſtop him up; and lodged the reſt of his Army upon the neighbouring Hills in the moſt advantageous places: but at the ſame time he detached a commanded Party of his lighteſt armed Men to fall upon *Hannibal*'s Rear; which they did with ſuch Succeſs, that they cut off eight hundred of them, and put the whole Army in diſorder. *Hannibal*, finding the Error and the Danger he was fallen into, immediately cauſed the poor Guides to be

be hang'd, which ſatisfy'd his Revenge, but did not leſſen his Danger: For his Enemies were ſo advantageouſly poſted, that there were no hopes of breaking thro them, and his Soldiers began to deſpair of ever coming out of thoſe Straits.

His Stratagem to regain the Paſs.

Thus reduc'd, *Hannibal* had recourſe to this Stratagem; he cauſed two thouſand Head of Oxen, which he had in his Camp, to have Torches and dry Bavens well faſtned to their Horns, and lighting them in the beginning of the Night, he ordered the Beaſts to be fairly and ſoftly drove on towards the Paſſages out of the Valley; when this was done, he made his Army with great ſilence march after them. The Oxen at firſt kept a ſlow orderly Pace, and with their lighted Heads reſembled an Army marching by Night, frighting only the Shepherds and Herdſmen of the Hills about. But when the Fire had burnt down the Horns of the Beaſts to the quick, they no longer obſerved their ſober Pace, but unruly with their Pain, they ran diſpers'd about toſſing their Heads, and ſcattering the Fire round about them. This became a ſurpriſing ſpectacle to the *Romans*, eſpecially to thoſe who guarded the Paſſages, who being at ſome diſtance from the main Body, and ſeeing the Fire on the ſudden diſperſing it ſelf on every ſide, as if the Enemy had deſign'd to ſurround them, in great

fright and amazement, quitted their Poſt, and precipitouſly retired to their Camp on the Hills. They were no ſooner gone, but a light body of *Hannibal*'s Men, according to his order, immediately ſeiz'd the Paſſages, and ſoon after the whole Army, with all the Baggage, came up and ſafely marched through the Paſſes. *Fabius*, before the night was over, quickly found out the trick; for ſome of the Beaſts with their flaming Heads fell into the hands of his Men; but for fear of an Ambuſh in the Dark, he kept his Men all night to their Arms in the Camp: And as ſoon as it was day, he charged the Enemy in the Rear, where many fell; and by reaſon of the Straits, and uneveneſs of the Paſſages, the diſorder had like to have been general over the whole *Punick* Army, but that *Hannibal* ſpeedily detached from his Van a Body of *Spaniards*, who of themſelves active and nimble, were accuſtomed to the climbing of Mountains: Theſe briskly attacked the *Roman* Troops, who were in heavy Armour, and routing the foremoſt, gave ſuch a check to *Fabius*, that he was no longer in a condition to follow the Enemy. This Action brought a ſtrange obloquy and contempt upon the Dictator: They ſaid, it was now manifeſt, that he was not only inferior to his Adverſary (what they always thought) in Courage, but even in Conduct. And

Fabius upon divers accounts evil ſpoken of.

And *Hannibal* (maliciouſly) to improve their hatred againſt him, marched with his Army cloſe to the Lands and Poſſeſſions of *Fabius*; and then giving orders to his Soldiers to burn and deſtroy all the Country about, he forbad them upon pain of Death to do the leaſt damage in the Territories of the *Roman* General, and placed Guards for their ſecurity. Theſe matters reported at *Rome*, had that effect with the People which *Hannibal* deſired. Their Tribunes raiſed a thouſand Storys againſt him, chiefly at the inſtigation of *Metellus*, who not ſo much out of hatred to him, as out of friendſhip to *Minutius*, whoſe Kinſman he was, thought by depreſſing *Fabius* to raiſe his Friend. The Senate on their part was alſo offended with him, for the Bargain he had made with *Hannibal* about the exchange of Priſoners, of which the conditions were, that after the exchange made of Man for Man, if any on either ſide remained, they ſhould be redeemed at the price of two hundred and fifty Drachms a Head; and upon the whole account there remained two hundred and forty *Romans* unexchanged. They not only refuſed to allow Mony for the Ranſoms, but alſo reproached *Fabius* for making a Contract ſo contrary to the Honour and Intereſt of the Commonwealth, in redeeming thoſe Men at ſo dear a rate, who had cowardly ſuffer-

ed themſelves to be taken by the Enemy. *Fabius* heard and endur'd all this with invincible Patience: but having no Mony by him, and on the other ſide being reſolved to keep his Word with *Hannibal*, he diſpatch'd his Son to *Rome*, to ſell Land, and to bring with him the price, ſufficient to diſcharge the Ranſoms; which was punctually perform'd by his Son, and accordingly the Priſoners were delivered to him; amongſt whom many that were able, offered when they were releaſed, to repay the Mony of their Ranſom, but *Fabius* would not permit them to do it.

About this time *Fabius* was called to *Rome* by the Prieſts, to aſſiſt (according to the Duty of his Office) at ſome of their ſolemn Sacrifices; whereby he was forced to leave the Command of the Army with *Minutius*: but before he parted, he charged him, and intreated him in his Abſence, not to come to a Battel with *Hannibal*. His Commands, his Intreaties, and his Advice were loſt upon *Minutius*; for his Back was no ſooner turn'd, but the new General immediately ſought all occaſions to fight the Enemy. And notice being brought him, that *Hannibal* had ſent out a great part of his Army to forage, he fell upon a conſiderable Party of them, doing great Execution, and driving them to their very Camp, with no little Terror to the reſt, who apprehended

Minutius in Fabius's abſence attacks the Carthaginians.

prehended their breaking in upon them: but in the mean time *Hannibal* had drawn his Men up into a Body, and *Minutius* without any loſs made his retreat. This Succeſs did much increaſe the boldneſs and preſumption of *Minutius*, and fill'd the Soldiers Minds with a contempt of the Enemy, and with a longing deſire of a Battel. The News was ſuddenly ſpread about *Rome*, and then was *Fabius* heard to ſay thoſe memorable words, *That he dreaded nothing more, for the ſafety of* Rome, *than the ſucceſs of* Minutius. But the People were mad with Joy, and *Metellus*, who was then their Tribune, made an Oration to them, in which he infinitely extol'd the Valour of *Minutius*, and fell bitterly upon *Fabius*, accuſing him not only for want of Courage, but even of Loyalty; and not only him, but alſo many others of the moſt eminent and conſiderable Perſons in *Rome*; that by their means the *Carthaginians* had brought the War into *Italy*, deſigning thereby to oppreſs and deſtroy the Liberty of the People: for which end they had put the ſupreme Authority into the hands of a ſingle Perſon, who by his ſlowneſs and delays might give leiſure to *Hannibal* to eſtabliſh himſelf in *Italy*, and thoſe of *Carthage* time and opportunity to ſupply him with freſh Succours in order to a total Conqueſt. At this *Fabius* ſtep'd forth, but diſdain'd to

make any reply to his Accuſations; he only ſaid, *That they ſhould expedite the Sacrifices, that ſo he might ſpeedily return to the Army, to puniſh* Minutius, *who had preſumed to fight contrary to his Orders.* He had no ſooner pronounced theſe words, but the People were immediately poſſeſs'd with the belief, that *Minutius* ſtood in danger of his Life: For it was in the power of the Dictator to impriſon, and to put to death; and they feared that *Fabius*, tho of a mild Temper to outward appearance, would be as hard to be appeaſed when irritated, as he was ſlow to be provoked. And yet no body dar'd to contradict the Orders of the Dictator, but *Metellus*, whoſe Office of Tribune gave him ſecurity and liberty to ſay what he pleaſed; for in the time of a Dictature that Magiſtrate only conſerves his Authority. He therefore boldly apply'd himſelf to the People, in the behalf of *Minutius*, that they ſhould not ſuffer him to be made a Sacrifice to the enmity of *Fabius*, nor permit him to be deſtroyed, like the Son of *Manlius Torquatus*, who was beheaded by his Father, for a Battel fought and won againſt Order. Then he exhorted them to take away from *Fabius* that abſolute power of a Dictator, and to put it into more worthy Hands, which might better manage it for their ſafety and publick good. Theſe Impreſſions very much prevail'd upon

Fabius *oppoſed by the Tribune* Metellus.

on the People, tho not ſo far, as wholly to diſpoſſeſs *Fabius* of the Dictature: But they decreed, that *Minutius* ſhould have an equal Authority with the Dictator in the Army; which was a thing then without Precedent, tho not long after it was alſo practiſed upon the overthrow at *Cannæ*, when the Dictator, *Marcus Junius*, being with the Army, they choſe at *Rome* *Fabius Buteo* Dictator, that he might create new Senators, to ſupply the Places of thoſe who were kill'd, which could be performed by no other Magiſtrate. But as ſoon as, being enter'd into the Senate, he had fill'd thoſe vacant Places with a ſufficient Number, he immediately diſmiſſed his *Lictors* with their *Faſces*, and all his Attendants, and mingling himſelf like a common Perſon with the reſt of the People, he quietly went about his own Affairs. The Enemies of *Fabius* thought they had ſufficiently affronted and dejected him, by raiſing *Minutius* to be his Equal in Authority; but they miſtook the Temper of the Man, who look'd upon their Madneſs as more injurious to the Commonwealth than to himſelf: in imitation of *Diogenes*, who being told, that ſome Perſons derided him, made Anſwer, *But I am not derided*; meaning in a Philoſophical ſenſe, that a good and a wiſe Man was not capable of being affronted or diſgraced, becauſe ſuch Injuries made no Impreſ-

impreſſion upon him. Thus *Fabius*, with great lenity and unconcernedneſs, ſubmitted to this mad Vote of the People; but leſt the raſhneſs of *Minutius* ſhould be thereby enabled to run headlong upon ſome dangerous Enterpriſe, with all privacy and ſpeed he return'd back to the Army; where he found *Minutius* ſo big and elevated with his new Dignity, that a joint Authority not contenting him, he required by turns to have the Command of the Army, every other day. This *Fabius* rejected, as of too dangerous Conſequence, but was contented (to comply with his imperious Humour) that the Army ſhould be divided, and each General ſhould command his part. The firſt and fourth Legion he took for his own Diviſion, the ſecond and third he delivered to *Minutius*; ſo alſo of the Auxiliary Forces each had an equal ſhare.

He divides the Army with Minutius.

Minutius thus exalted, could not contain himſelf from boaſting, even in the preſence of *Fabius*, that now he had humbled the mighty Man, who ſo lately trampled on their Lives and Fortunes. To whom the Dictator mildly reply'd, *Minutius, you miſtake the Enemy*; *'tis* Hannibal, *and not* Fabius, *whom you are to combat*; *but if you muſt needs contend with your* Collegue, *let it be in diligence and care for the preſervation of* Rome; *that it may not be ſaid, a Man ſo favour'd by the People, ſerv'd them worſe*

worſe than he who had been ill treated and diſgrac'd by them.

Our young General deſpiſing theſe Admonitions, as the dotage of ſupercilious Age, immediately remov'd with the Body of his Army, and incamped by himſelf. *Hannibal*, who was not ignorant of all theſe paſſages, lay watching his advantage from them: it happen'd, that between his Army and that of *Minutius*, there was a certain Eminence which ſeem'd a very advantageous Poſt to incamp upon; it had the proſpect of a large Plain about it, and the Fields appear'd to be all level and even; and yet there were a great many Ditches and Hollowneſſes in them, not diſcernable to the Eye at a diſtance. *Hannibal*, had he pleaſed, could eaſily have poſſeſs'd himſelf of this ground; but he reſerved it for a Bait or Train, in a proper ſeaſon, to draw the *Romans* to an Ingagement. Now that *Minutius* and *Fabius* were divided, he thought the opportunity fair for his purpoſe; and therefore, having in the Night-time lodged a convenient number of his Men in thoſe Ditches and hollow places, early in the Morning he ſent forth a ſmall Detachment, who in the ſight of *Minutius* poſſeſſed themſelves of that riſing ground. According to his expectation, *Minutius* ſwallow'd the bait, and firſt ſends out a Party of Dragoons, and after them ſome Horſe, to diſlodge the Enemy.

The dangerous conſequence of Minutius's *raſh ſeparating from* Fabius.

Enemy. And at laſt, when he ſaw *Hannibal* in Perſon advancing to the aſſiſtance of his Men, he marched with his whole Army drawn up, reſolving to make himſelf Maſter of that Poſt. The Combat for ſome time was equal between the foremoſt Troops; but as ſoon as *Hannibal* perceived, that the whole Army of the *Romans* was now ſufficiently advanced within the Toils he had ſet for them, ſo that their Backs and Flanks were open to his Men whom he had poſted in thoſe low places; he inſtantly gave the Signal, whereupon they ruſhed forth, and furiouſly attacked *Minutius* in the Rear. The Surprize and the Slaughter was ſo great, that it ſtruck an univerſal Terror through the whole Army. The braveſt amongſt them, and *Minutius* himſelf, were in ſuch Aſtoniſhment, that they were as uncapable of giving Orders, as the Soldiery of obeying them. Thoſe who ſought to ſave themſelves by flight, were intercepted and cut in pieces by the *Numidian* Horſe-men, who for that purpoſe had diſpers'd themſelves about the adjacent Plains.

Fabius was not ignorant of this Danger of his Countrymen: He well foreſaw what would happen from the Raſhneſs of *Minutius*, and the Cunning of *Hannibal*; for which reaſon he kept his Men to their Arms, in a readineſs to wait the Event; nor

nor would he truſt to the Reports of others, but he himſelf upon an Eminence in his Camp viewed all that paſſed. When therefore he ſaw the Army of *Minutius* incompaſs'd by the Enemy, and that by their Countenance, and ſhifting their Ground, they were more diſpoſed to flight than to reſiſt; with a great Sigh, ſtriking his Hand upon his Thigh, he ſaid to thoſe about him, *O* Hercules! *how much ſooner than I expected, and yet how much later than he would have done, hath* Minutius *deſtroy'd himſelf!* He then commanded the Enſigns to march, and the Army to follow him, telling them, *We muſt make haſte to reſcue* Minutius, *who is a valiant Man, and a Lover of his Country; and if he hath been too forward to ingage the Enemy, at another time we will tell him of it.* Thus in the Head of his Men *Fabius* marched up to the Enemy; and in the firſt place he cleared the Plains of thoſe *Numidians*, and next he fell upon thoſe who were charging the *Romans* in the Rear, running down all that made oppoſition, and obliging the reſt to ſave themſelves by a haſty Retreat, leſt themſelves ſhould be environ'd as the *Romans* had been. *Hannibal* ſeeing ſo ſudden a change of Affairs, and the great Execution done by *Fabius* beyond the force of his Age, opening his way through the Ranks that he might join *Minutius*, warily commanded a Retreat, and drew off his Men

Fabius *ſuccours* Minutius.

Men into their Camp: The *Romans* on their part were no leſs contented to retire in ſafety. It is reported that upon this occaſion *Hannibal* ſaid to his Friends; *Did not I tell you that this Cloud which always hover'd upon the Mountains, would at ſome time or other come down with a Storm upon us?* *Fabius*, after his Men had pick'd up the Spoils of the Field, retir'd to his own Camp, without ſaying any harſh or reproachful thing to his Collegue; who alſo on his part gathering his Army together, in this manner deliver'd himſelf to them: *Never to commit a Fault is above the force of human Nature; but to learn and improve by the Faults we have committed, is that which becomes a good and a prudent Man. Some Reaſons I may have to accuſe Fortune, but I have many more to thank her: for in a few Hours ſhe hath cured a long Miſtake, and taught me, that I am not the Man who ſhould command others, but have need of another to command me; and that we are not to contend for a Victory over thoſe to whom it is our advantage to yield. Therefore for the future the Dictator muſt be your Commander; but in Gratitude towards him I will ſtill be your Leader, and always be the firſt to obey his Orders.* Having ſaid this, he commanded the *Roman* Eagles to march forward, and all his Men to follow him in their Orders into the Camp of *Fabius*. The *Fabians* ſtood amazed

Minutius *ſenſible of his Error, ſubmits to* Fabius.

amazed at the novelty of the ſight, and were anxious and doubtful what the meaning might be. When he came near the Dictator's Tent, *Fabius* went forth to meet him, and he preſently laid his Colours at his Feet, calling him with a loud Voice his Father, and the Army commanded by him, the Patrons of his Liberty; and after ſeveral Civilities and Congratulations, he thus addreſſed himſelf to the Dictator: *You have this Day* (Fabius) *obtain'd a double Victory; one by your Valour and Conduct upon your Enemies, and another by your Humanity and Compaſſion upon your Collegue: You have at once preſerved us and inſtructed us; and when we were ſhamefully beaten by* Hannibal, *you reſtor'd us to our Honour and our Safety; and inſtead of him,* Fabius *more honourably is now our Victor. Wherefore I can call you by no other Name but that of a Father, ſince you have not only at this preſent given Life to me, but (as a common Parent) to all theſe who are under me.* After this, he threw himſelf with great tenderneſs and ſubmiſſion into the Arms of the Dictator; and in the ſame manner the Soldiers of each Army embraced one another with an Exceſs of Gladneſs and Tears of Joy.

Not long after *Fabius* laid down the Dictature, and new Conſuls were created. Thoſe, who immediately ſucceeded, obſerv'd

ſerv'd the ſame method in managing the War, and avoided all Occaſions of fighting *Hannibal* in a pitch'd Battel; they only ſuccour'd their Allies, and preſerv'd the Towns from falling off to the Enemy. But afterwards when *Terentius Varro* (a Man of obſcure Birth, but very popular and bold) had obtain'd the Conſulſhip, he ſoon made it appear, that by his Raſhneſs and Ignorance, he would expoſe the Commonwealth to the laſt hazard: For it was his Cuſtom to declaim in all Aſſemblys, that as long as the Counſels of *Fabius* prevail'd in *Rome*, there would never be an end of the War; and he made his brags, that whenever he ſhould get ſight of the Enemy, he would free *Italy* from the Arms of Strangers. With theſe Promiſes he ſo prevail'd with the credulous Multitude, that he rais'd a greater Army than had ever yet been ſent out of *Rome*. There were liſted fourſcore thouſand fighting Men; but that which gave Confidence to the Populace, did at the ſame time very much terrify and deject the wiſe and experienced, and none more than *Fabius*: For if ſo great a Body, and the Flower of the *Roman* Youth ſhould be cut off, they could not ſee any reſource for the ſafety of *Rome*. Wherefore they addreſs'd themſelves to the other Conſul, *Paulus Æmilius*, a Man of great Experience in War, but hated by the common People; who formerly upon

The indiſcreet Behaviour of Terentius Varro *the Conſul.*

upon ſome diſpleaſure had ſet a Mulct upon him. This other Conſul they encourage to withſtand the temerity of his Collegue, telling him, if he will profitably ſerve his Country, he muſt no leſs oppoſe *Varro* than *Hannibal*, ſince both conſpired to decide the Fate of *Rome* by a Battel. *It is more reaſonable* (ſaid *Fabius* to him) *that you ſhould believe me than* Varro *in matters relating to* Hannibal, *when I tell you, that if for this Year you abſtain from fighting with him, either his Army will of it ſelf moulder away and be deſtroyed, or elſe he will be glad to depart, and free* Italy *from thoſe troubleſome Gueſts. This evidently appears, inaſmuch, that notwithſtanding his Victories, none of the Countries or Towns of* Italy *come in to him, and that now his Army is not the third part of what it was at firſt.* To this *Paulus Æmilius* is ſaid to have reply'd, *Did I only conſider my ſelf, I ſhould rather chuſe to be expoſed to the Weapons of* Hannibal, *than to the Suffrages of my fellow Citizens, whoſe Rancour I am ſure to increaſe againſt me, if I avoid ingaging the Enemy; yet ſince the Life of* Rome *is at ſtake, I will rather in my Conduct pleaſe and obey* Fabius, *than all the World beſides.* But theſe good Meaſures were broken by the ambitious importunity of *Varro*; for when they were both come to the Army, nothing would content this Favorite of the People, but a ſeparate Com-

Fabius's *weighty inſtructions to* Paulus Æmilius.

mand, that each Conſul ſhould have his day; and when his turn came, he poſted his Army cloſe to *Hannibal*, at a Village called *Cannæ*, by the River *Auſidius*. It was no ſooner day, but he ſet up the red Flag over his Tent, which was the ſignal of Battle. This boldneſs of the Conſul, and the numerouſneſs of his Army (double to theirs) ſtartled the *Carthaginians*; but *Hannibal* commanded them to their Arms, and with a ſmall train he went forth to take a full proſpect of the Enemy, upon a riſing ground not far diſtant. One of his followers, called *Giſco* (a Nobleman of *Carthage*) told him, that the number of the Enemy was very aſtoniſhing; to whom *Hannibal* reply'd, with a ſerious Countenance: *There is ſomething yet more aſtoniſhing, which you take no notice of; that in all that Army there is not one man whoſe name is* Giſco. This Jeſt of their General made all the company laugh, and as they returned to the Camp, they told it to thoſe whom they met, which cauſed a general laughter among them all. The Army ſeeing *Hannibal*'s Attendants come back from viewing the Enemy in ſuch a laughing condition, did verily believe, that from the good poſture of their Affairs, and from the contempt of the Enemy this laughter had proceeded; which did not a little ſerve to raiſe the drooping Spirits of the Soldiers. According to his uſual

Varro's fatal engagement with the Carthaginians at Cannæ.

uſual manner, *Hannibal* fail'd not by his Stratagems to advantage himſelf. In the firſt place, he ſo drew up his Men, that the wind was on their backs, which was at that time very violent; and by reaſon of the great Plains of Sand, carried before it a great cloud of Duſt, which ſtriking upon the Faces of the *Romans*, did very much diſable them in the Fight. In the next place, all his beſt Men he put into his Wings; and in the Body, which was ſomewhat more advanced than the Wings, he placed the worſt and the weakeſt of his Army. Then he commanded thoſe in the Wings, that when the Enemy had made a thorow charge upon that middle advanc'd Body, which he knew would recoil, as not being able to ſtand their ſhock; and that, when the *Romans*, in their purſuit, ſhould be far enough ingaged within the two Wings, they ſhould, both on the right and the left, charge them in the Flank, and endeavour to incompaſs them. This deſign had all the ſucceſs imaginable; for the *Romans* preſſing upon *Hannibal*'s Front, which gave ground, reduced the form of his Army into a perfect Half-Moon; and blinded with the duſt, they followed on ſo far, that they gave room for the Enemies Wings to join behind them, and ſo to incloſe and charge them both Flank and Rear; which they did with an incredible ſlaughter of the *Romans*: To

whoſe Calamity, it is alſo ſaid, that a caſual miſtake did very much contribute; for the Horſe of *Æmilius* receiving a hurt, and throwing his Maſter, thoſe about him immediately alighted to aid the Conſul: the *Roman* Troops ſeeing their Commanders thus quitting their Horſes, took it for a ſign that they ſhould all diſmount and charge the Enemy on Foot. At the ſight of this, *Hannibal* was heard to ſay, *This pleaſeth me better than if they had been deliver'd to me bound hand and foot.* For the particulars of this Ingagement, we refer our Reader to thoſe Authors who have writ at large upon this Subject.

Æmilius *the Conſul diſmounted*

The Conſul *Varro* with a thin Company fled to *Venutia*; and *Paulus Æmilius*, unable any longer to oppoſe the Flight of his Men, or the Purſuit of the Enemy, his Body all covered with Wounds, and his Soul no leſs wounded with Grief, ſat himſelf down upon a Stone, expecting the kindneſs of a diſpatching Blow. His Face was ſo disfigured, and all his Armour ſo ſtained with Blood, that his very Friends and Domeſticks paſſing by knew him not. At laſt *Cornelius Lentulus*, of a *Patrician* Race, perceiving who he was, alighted from his Horſe, and tendring it to him, deſired him to get up, and ſave a Life ſo neceſſary to the ſafety of the Commonwealth, which at this time would dearly want ſo great a Captain. But nothing

nothing could prevail upon him to accept of the Offer: with Tears in his Eyes he obliged young *Lentulus* to remount his Horſe; then ſtanding up, he gave him his Hand, and commanded him to tell *Fabius Maximus*, that *Paulus Æmilius* had followed his Directions to his very laſt, and had not in the leaſt deviated from thoſe Meaſures which were agreed between them; but that it was his hard Fate to be overpower'd by *Varro* in the firſt place, and ſecondly by *Hannibal*. Having diſpatch'd *Lentulus* with this Commiſſion, he mark'd where the Slaughter was greateſt, and there threw himſelf upon the Swords of the Enemy. In this Battel it is reported, that Fifty thouſand *Romans* were ſlain, Four thouſand Priſoners taken in the Field, and Ten thouſand in the Camp of both Conſuls. *He dies valiantly.*

The Friends of *Hannibal* earneſtly perſuaded him to follow his Victory, and purſue the flying *Romans* to the very Gates of *Rome*; aſſuring him, that in five Days march he might ſup in the Capitol: Nor is it eaſy to imagine, what hindred him from it. I am apt to believe, that the exceſs of his good Fortune, or ſome Tutelary God of the *Romans* blinded his Reaſon, and made him loiter away his time; which made *Barcas*, a *Carthaginian*, tell him with Indignation; *You know*, Hannibal, *how to get a Victory, but not how to uſe it.* Yet, tho

he failed in making the beſt advantage of ſo mighty a Victory, however it produced a ſtrange turn and improvement in his Affairs: For he, who hitherto had not one Town, nor a Sea-port in his Poſſeſſion, who had nothing for the ſubſiſtence of his Men, but what he pillaged from day to day; who had no place of Retreat, nor any reaſonable hopes to make the War continue, nor his Army to hold together, now became Maſter of the beſt Provinces and Towns of *Italy*, and of *Capua* it ſelf (next to *Rome*, the moſt flouriſhing and opulent City) all which came over to him, and ſubmitted to his Authority.

Capua *revolts to* Hannibal.

It is the ſaying of *Euripides*, that *a man is in no good condition when he is obliged to try a Friend, nor a State when it ſtands in need of an able General.* And ſo it was with the *Romans*, who (before the Battle) branded the Counſels and Actions of *Fabius* with the infamous note of Cowardiſe and Fear; but now in the other extreme, they admire and adore his Prudence, as ſomething Divine, that could ſee ſo far, and foretel what would happen ſo contrary to, and ſo much above the judgment of all others. In him therefore they place their only hope; his Wiſdom is the ſacred Anchor, which fix'd them in ſo great a Fluctuation, and his Counſels alone preſerve them from diſperſing, and deſerting their City; as in the time

time when the *Gauls* took poſſeſſion of *Rome*. He, whom they eſteemed fearful and puſillanimous, when they were (as they thought) in a proſperous condition, is now the only Man, in this general Dejection, who ſhews no fear, but walking the Streets with an aſſured and ſerene Countenance, comforts the Afflicted, invigorates the Weak, and incourageth all to a brave and reſolute Defence of their Country. He cauſed the Senate to meet, he heartned the Magiſtrates, and was as the Soul of their Body giving them Life and Motion; He placed Guards at the Gates of the City, to ſtop the frighted Rabble from flying; He regulated and confin'd their Mournings for their ſlain Friends, both as to time and place; That each Family within its own Walls, and not in Publick, ſhould perform ſuch Obſequies; and that the Ceremony of them ſhould continue only the ſpace of one Month, and then the whole City ſhould be luſtrated and purified. The Feaſt of *Ceres* happening to fall within this time, it was decreed, That the Solemnity ſhould be intermitted; leſt the fewneſs and the ſorrowful Countenance of thoſe who ſhould celebrate it, might too much expoſe to the People the greatneſs of their loſs; beſides, the Worſhip moſt acceptable to the Gods, is that which comes from chearful Hearts; but thoſe Rites which were proper and peculiar for appeaſing their

Fabius *of an even temper in the greateſt conſterna-tion.*

Anger, and procuring auſpicious Signs and Preſages, were by the direction of the Augurs carefully performed. Alſo *Fabius Pictor* (a near Kinſman to *Maximus*) was ſent to conſult the Oracle of *Delphos*; and about the ſame time, two Veſtals having been detected to have been violated, the one kill'd her ſelf, and the other according to cuſtom was buried alive.

An inſtance of a generous diſpoſition in the Romans.

But now let us admire the Moderation and Generoſity of this *Roman* Commonwealth; that when the Conſul *Varro* came beaten and flying home, full of Infamy and Shame, after he had ſo foully and calamitouſly managed their Affairs, yet the whole Senate and People went out to meet him at the Gates of the City, and received him with all the Honour and Reſpect due to their Conſul. And Silence being commanded, the Magiſtrates and chief of the Senate, and principally *Fabius*, commended him before the People, for that he did not deſpair of the ſafety of the Commonwealth after ſo great a Loſs, but was come to take the Government into his hands, to execute the Laws, and comfort his Fellow-Citizens, by this means not yet abandon'd and forlorn. When word was brought to *Rome*, that *Hannibal* after the Fight had marched with his Army into the remoter Parts of *Italy*, the Hearts of the *Romans* began to recover again their antient Vigor and Reſolution:

lution: they ſent forth an Army under the Command of *Fabius Maximus*, and *Claudius Marcellus*; both great Generals, equal in Fame, but very unlike and oppoſite in their ways. For *Marcellus*, as we have formerly ſet forth in his Life, was a Man of Action, bold, vigorous and enterpriſing, and (as *Homer* deſcribes his Warriors) *fierce*, and *delighting* in *Fights*. So that having to do with *Hannibal*, a Man of his own Temper, they never failed upon all occaſions to come to an Ingagement. But *Fabius* adher'd to his former Principles, ſtill perſuaded, that by following cloſe and not fighting him, *Hannibal* and his Army would at laſt be tired out and conſumed; like an able Wreſtler, who with too much Exerciſe and Toil grows languid and weak. Wherefore *Poſſidonius* tells us, that the *Romans* called *Marcellus* their *Sword*, and *Fabius* their *Buckler*; and that the Vigour of the one mixt with the Steadineſs of the other, made a happy Compound, very ſalutiferous to *Rome*. So that *Hannibal* found by Experience, that incountering the one, he met with a rapid impetuous River, which drove him back, and ſtill made ſome Breach upon him; and by the other, tho ſilently and quietly paſſing by him, he was inſenſibly waſh'd away and conſumed. At laſt he was brought to this, that he dreaded *Marcellus* when he was in motion, and *Fabius* when he

Marcellus *choſen joint Commander with* Fabius.

he ſat ſtill. During the whole courſe of this War, he had ſtill to do with one or both of theſe Generals; for each of them had been five times Conſul; and either as Prætor, or Proconſul, or Conſul, they had always a part in the Government of the Army; till at laſt *Marcellus* fell into the Trap which *Hannibal* had laid for him, and was kill'd in his fifth Conſulſhip. But his Craft and Subtlety was unſucceſsful upon *Fabius*; who only once was in ſome danger of being caught; for he had ſent counterfeit Letters to him from the principal Inhabitants of *Metapont*, wherein they ingaged to deliver up their Town if he would come before it with his Army: This Train had almoſt drawn him in, for he had reſolved to march to them with part of his Army, but was diverted only by conſulting the Flight of the Birds, which he found to be inauſpicious: And not long after he came to underſtand that thoſe Letters had been forged by *Hannibal*, who for his Reception had laid an Ambuſh to entertain him. This perhaps we muſt rather attribute to the Favour of the Gods than to the Prudence of *Fabius*.

He is circumvented and ſlain by Hannibal.

But in preſerving the Towns and his Allies from revolting, with fair and gentle uſage, and in not uſing rigor, or ſhewing a ſuſpicion upon every light Suggeſtion, his Conduct was very ſingular. It is reported of

The winning behaviour of Fabius *towards his fickle Allies.*

of him, that being informed of a certain *Marſian* (an eminent Man for his Courage and Quality) who had dealt underhand with ſome of the Soldiers to make them deſert, *Fabius* was ſo far from uſing Severity againſt him, that he called for him, and told him, he was ſenſible of the wrong which had been done him, and that his Merit and good Service had been neglected, which he ſaid was a great fault in the Commanders, who reward more by Favour than by Deſert: Therefore, whenever you are aggrieved (ſaid *Fabius*) I ſhall take it ill at your hands, if you apply your ſelf to any but to me. When he had ſo ſpoken, he beſtowed an excellent Horſe and other good Gifts upon him; and from that time forwards, there was not a faithfuller and more truſty Man in the whole Army than this *Marſian*. With good reaſon our General did judg, that if thoſe who have the government of Horſes and Beaſts, endeavour by gentle Uſage to make them tractable and fit for ſervice, rather than by Cruelty and Beating, much more thoſe who have the command of Men, ſhould bring them to Order and Diſcipline by the mildeſt and faireſt Means; not treating them worſe than Gardiners thoſe wild Plants, which by careful looking to and good uſage, loſe the ſavageneſs of their nature, and bear excellent Fruit.

At

A pleaſant fetch of his to reduce a common Soldier.

At another time, ſome of his Officers inform'd him, that one of their Men did very often depart from his Colours, and lie out at Nights; he ask'd them what kind of Man he was: they all anſwer'd, that the whole Army had not a better Man; that he was a Native of *Lucania*; and ſo they fell relating ſeveral Actions which they had ſeen him perform. Immediately *Fabius* made a ſtrict inquiry to find what it was that led him ſo often out of the Camp: and at laſt he diſcover'd, that his frequent Excurſions were to viſit a young Woman, with whom he was in Love. Hereupon he gave private Order to ſome of his Men, to find out the Woman, and ſecretly to convey her into his own Tent; and then ſent for the *Lucanian*, and calling him aſide, told him that he very well knew how often he had lain at Nights out of the Camp, which was a capital Tranſgreſſion againſt Military Diſcipline and the *Roman* Laws; but he knew alſo how brave he was, and the good Services he had done, and therefore in conſideration of them he was willing to forgive him his Fault; but to keep him in good Order, he was reſolved to place one over him, to be his Keeper, who ſhould be accountable for his good Behaviour. Having ſaid this, he produced the Woman, and told the Soldier (terrified and amazed at the Adventure) *This is the Perſon who muſt anſwer*

ſwer for you; and by your future Behaviour we ſhall ſee whether your Night Rambles were upon the account of Love, or upon any other worſe Deſign.

His Policy in regaining Tarentum.

Another Paſſage there was, ſomething of this nature, which alſo fell under the Management of *Fabius*, and proved highly advantageous to the *Roman* Affairs, whereby he gain'd *Tarentum*. There was a young *Tarentine* in the Army, that had a Siſter in *Tarentum* (then in poſſeſſion of the Enemy) who intirely loved her Brother, and wholly depended on him. He being inform'd, that a certain *Brutian*, whom *Hannibal* had made Governor of that Gariſon, was deeply in Love with his Siſter, conceived hopes that he might poſſibly turn it to account in behalf of the *Romans*. And having firſt communicated his Deſign to *Fabius*, he left the Army as a Deſerter (in ſhew) and went over to *Tarentum*. At his firſt coming, the *Brutian* abſtain'd from viſiting the Siſter; for neither of them knew that the Brother had notice of the Amour between them: whereupon the young *Tarentine* took an occaſion to tell his Siſter, how he had heard, that a Man of Quality and great Authority had made his Addreſſes to her; therefore he deſired her to tell him who it was; *for* (ſaid he) *if he be a Man that has Bravery and Reputation, it matters not what Country-man he is, ſince at this time*

time the Sword mingles all Nations, and makes them equal; and an Alliance with ſuch a perſon, in this Reign of Mars, *is both honourable and profitable.* Hereupon the Woman ſends for her Gallant, and makes the Brother and him great Friends: And whereas ſhe henceforth ſhew'd more Countenance to her Lover than formerly, by the ſame degrees that her Kindneſs increaſed, did his Friendſhip alſo with the Brother advance. So that at laſt our *Tarentine* thought this *Brutian* Officer well enough prepar'd to receive the Offers he had to make him; and that it would be eaſy for a mercenary Man, who was in Love, to accept (upon the terms propoſed) of great Sums promiſed by *Fabius*, and of a Miſtreſs whom he paſſionately loved. In concluſion the Bargain was ſtruck, and the Promiſe made of delivering the Town. This is the common Tradition, tho ſome relate this Story otherwiſe, and ſay that this Woman, by whom the *Brutian* was inveigled to betray the Town, was not a Native of *Tarentum* but a *Brutian* born, and that ſhe had been kept by *Fabius* as his Concubine; and being a Country-woman and an Acquaintance of the *Brutian* Governor, he privately ſent her to him to corrupt him.

Whilſt theſe matters were thus brewing, to draw off *Hannibal* from ſcenting the Deſign, *Fabius* ſends Orders to the Gariſon in *Rhegium*,

Rhegium, that they ſhould waſte and ſpoil the *Brutian* Country, and ſhould alſo lay Siege to *Caulonia*, and ſtorm the Place with all poſſible vigour. Theſe were a Body of eight thouſand Men, the worſt of the *Roman* Army, who had moſt of them been Run-aways, and had been branded by *Marcellus* with the ignominious Note of Cowardiſe; ſo that the loſs of them would not be great, nor much lamanted by the *Romans*. *Fabius* therefore threw out theſe Men as a Bait for *Hannibal*, to divert him from *Tarentum*; who inſtantly bit at it, and led his Forces to *Caulonia*; and in the mean time *Fabius* lay down before *Tarentum*. The ſixth day of the Siege, his young *Tarentine* ſlips by night out of the Town, and having well obſerved the Place where the *Brutian* Commander, according to Agreement, was to let in the *Romans*, he gives an account of the whole matter, as they had laid it, to *Fabius*; who thought it not ſafe to rely wholly upon the Information given him, and the Bargain which was made, but went himſelf with great privacy to take a view of the Poſt and the Avenue; and then gave order for a general Aſſault to be made on the other ſide of the Town, both by Land and Sea. This being accordingly executed, when the *Tarentines*, and moſt of the Gariſon ran to defend the Town on that ſide where the Attack was made, *Fabius* with the

Hannibal *diverted by a ſubtlety of* Fabius.

the Men reſerved for that purpoſe ſcales the Walls at the place deſign'd, and enters the Town without oppoſition.

The inhuman Cruelty of Fabius *at the ſacking of* Tarentum.

Here we muſt confeſs, that the Ambition of *Fabius* was both cruel and unfaithful; for to make it appear to the World, that he had taken *Tarentum* by Force and his own Proweſs, and not by Treachery, he commanded his Men to do Execution upon all the *Brutians*, and not to ſpare a Man of them; many of the *Tarentines* were alſo kill'd, and thirty thouſand of them were ſold for Slaves. The Army had the Plunder of the Town, and there were brought into the Treaſury three thouſand Talents. Whilſt they were thus ordering and diſtributing the Spoils, the Officer who took the Inventory, ask'd what ſhould be done with their Gods, meaning the Statues and Images in the Temples; to whom *Fabius* anſwer'd, *Let us leave their angry Gods to the* Tarentines. And yet one Statue of *Hercules*, which was of extraordinary bigneſs, he cauſed to be ſet up in the Capitol, next to his own in Braſs, which ſtood there on Horſe-back. The ſevere and ſanguinary proceeding on this occaſion, as it reflects on the Memory of *Fabius*, ſo alſo it did very much ſet off in the Eyes of the World the Clemency and Humanity of *Marcellus*, as in his Life we have already ſhewn.

When

When *Hannibal* had the News brought him that *Tarentum* was beſieged, he marched with great diligence to relieve it; and being come within five Miles, he was inform'd that the Town was taken; which made him ſay, *that* Rome *had alſo got a* Hannibal, *and by the ſame Art* Tarentum *was loſt, by which he formerly had it.* And being in private with ſome of his Confidents, he plainly told them, that he always thought it difficult, but now he held it impoſſible with the Forces he then had to maſter *Italy.* Hannibal *in vain attempts to relieve it.*

Upon this Succeſs, *Fabius* had a Triumph decreed him at *Rome*, much more ſplendid than the former; for they look'd upon him now as a Champion who had clearly worſted his Antagoniſt, and been too hard for him in his own Way, and at his own Weapon: And indeed the Army of *Hannibal* was at this time partly worn away with continual Action, and partly become ſoft and diſſolute with great Opulency and Luxury. When the Senate had before them the Buſineſs of this Triumph, *Marcus Livius* (who was Governor of *Tarentum* when it was betrayed to *Hannibal*, and then retired into the Caſtle, which he kept till the Town was re-taken) openly declared, that by his reſiſtance more than by any action of *Fabius*, *Tarentum* had been recovered: to whom *Fabius*, laughing at his Envy and Ambition,

Fabius's *ocular Reply to* Marcus Livius.

reply'd; *You ſay very true, for if* Marcus Livius *had not loſt* Tarentum, Fabius Maximus *had never recover'd it.* The People of *Rome* thought no Honour too great for him; they gave his Son the Conſulſhip of the next Year; who when he was entered upon his Office, there being ſome Buſineſs then on foot about Proviſions for the War, his Father, either by reaſon of Age and Infirmity, or perhaps out of Deſign to try his Son, came up to him on Horſeback. Whereupon the young Conſul preſently bid one of his Lictors command his Father to alight, and tell him that if he had any Buſineſs with the Conſul he ſhould come on Foot. This infinitely pleaſed the old Man, and altho the Standers by ſeem'd offended at the Imperiouſneſs of the Son towards a Father, ſo venerable for his Age and his Authority, yet he inſtantly lighted from his Horſe, and with open Arms and great ſpeed, came up and imbraced his Son, telling him, *Now thou art my Son indeed, ſince thou doſt underſtand thy ſelf in the Authority thou haſt received, and knoweſt whom thou art to command. This was the way by which we and our Forefathers have advanced the Dignity of the Commonwealth, in preferring that to our own Fathers and Children.*

The tranſcendent Dignity of a Magiſtrate.

And indeed it is reported, that the great Grandfather of our *Fabius*, who was undoubtedly the greateſt Man of *Rome* in his time,

time, both in Reputation and Authority, who had been five times Conſul, and had been honour'd with ſeveral Triumphs for as many Victories obtained by him, took pleaſure in ſerving (as Legate) under his own Son, when he went Conſul into his Province: And when afterwards his Son had a Triumph beſtow'd upon him for his good Service, the old Man followed on Horſeback his Triumphant Chariot, as one of his Attendants; and made it his Glory to be the greateſt Man in *Rome*, and to have ſuch a Son, and yet to be ſubject to the Law and the Magiſtrate.

But the Praiſes of our *Fabius* are not bounded here; his manly Courage in bearing his Loſſes, more eminently ſhew'd the greatneſs of his Soul than his proſperous Succeſſes. For loſing this Son of his in the flower of his Age, and in the height of his Promotion, with wonderful moderation he did the part of a Pious Father, and of a Hero, whom nothing could daunt. For as it was the cuſtom amongſt the *Romans*, upon the death of any illuſtrious Perſon, to have a Funeral Oration recited by ſome of the neareſt Relations, he himſelf took upon him that Office, and delivered himſelf upon the Subject to the great ſatisfaction and applauſe both of Senate and People.

After *Publius Cornelius Scipio*, who was ſent Proconſul into *Spain*, had driven the

Carthaginians (defeated by him in many Battles) out of that Province, and had reduced ſeveral Towns and Nations under the obedience of *Rome*, he was received at his coming home with a general Joy and Acclamation of the People; who to ſhew their Gratitude and high Eſteem of him, deſign'd him Conſul for the Year enſuing. Knowing what high Expectation they had of him, he thought the deſign of only driving *Hannibal* out of *Italy*, not great enough to anſwer the Hopes and the Happineſs they promiſed themſelves from his Conſulſhip. He therefore propos'd no leſs a Task to himſelf than to make *Carthage* the Seat of the War; and ſo to oblige *Hannibal*, inſtead of invading the Countries of others, to draw back and defend his own. To this end he made uſe of all the Credit and Favour he had with the People; and aſſiduouſly courting them, left no popular Art untry'd that he might gain them to ſecond his Deſign. *Fabius* on the other ſide oppos'd with all his might this Undertaking of *Scipio*; telling the People, that nothing but the temerity of a hot young Man could inſpire them with ſuch dangerous Counſels, which by drawing away their Forces to Parts ſo remote, might expoſe *Rome* it ſelf to be the Conqueſt of *Hannibal*. His Authority and Perſuaſions prevail'd with the Senate to eſpouſe his Sentiments; but the common

Scipio *thwarted in his Deſigns by* Fabius.

common People thought that he envied the Fame of *Scipio*, and that he was afraid leſt this young Conqueror ſhould have the Glory to drive *Hannibal* out of *Italy*, and to end the War, which had for ſo many Years continued and been protracted under his Government.

To ſay the Truth, when *Fabius* firſt oppos'd this Project of *Scipio*, I believe he did it in conſideration only of the Publick Safety, and of the Danger which the Commonwealth might incur by ſuch a way of proceeding: but when he found *Scipio* every day increaſing in the Eſteem of the People, Envy then and Ambition took hold of him, which made him ſo violent in his Oppoſition. For he apply'd himſelf to *Craſſus*, the Collegue of *Scipio*, and perſuaded him not to yield that Province to *Scipio*, but that (if his Inclinationswere for that War) he ſhould himſelf in Perſon lead the Army to *Carthage*. He alſo hindred the giving Mony to *Scipio* for the War, who was forc'd to raiſe it upon his own Credit and Intereſt, and was ſupply'd by the Cities of *Hetruria*, which were wholly devoted to him. On the other ſide, *Craſſus* would not ſtir againſt him, nor remove out of *Italy*, as being in his own Nature an Enemy to Strife and Contention, and alſo as having the Care of Religion, by his Office of High-Prieſt. Wherefore *Fabius* try'd other ways to break the

Craſſus *no Promoter of martial Exploits.*

Deſign; he declaimed both in the Senate and to the People that *Scipio* did not only himſelf fly from *Hannibal*, but did alſo endeavour to drain *Italy* of all their Forces, and to ſpirit away the Youth of the Country to a Foreign War, leaving behind them their Parents, Wives and Children, a defenceleſs Prey to the Enemy at their Doors. With this he ſo terrified the People, that at laſt they would only allow to *Scipio* for the War, the Legions which were in *Sicily*, and three hundred of thoſe Men who had ſo bravely ſerved him in *Spain*. In theſe Tranſactions hitherto *Fabius* only ſeem'd to follow the Dictates of his own wary Temper.

The deſerved renown of Scipio *in* Africk.

But, after that *Scipio* was gone over into *Africa*, when News was brought to *Rome* of his wonderful Exploits and Victories (of which the Fame was confirm'd by the Spoils he ſent home) of a *Numidian* King taken Priſoner, of a vaſt Slaughter of their Men, of two Camps of the Enemy burnt and deſtroy'd, and in them a great quantity of Arms and Horſes; when hereupon the *Carthaginians* had been compell'd to ſend their Envoys to *Hannibal* to call him home, and leave *Italy*, to defend *Carthage*; when for ſo eminent and tranſcending Services, the whole People of *Rome*, with no leſs Gratitude than Acclamation, cry'd up and extoll'd the Actions of *Scipio*; even then did *Fabius* contend that a Succeſſor ſhould be ſent

He is envy'd by Fabius.

ſent in his place, alledging for it only the old thredbare and pitiful reaſon of the mutability of Fortune, as if ſhe would be weary of long favouring the ſame Perſon. But this too manifeſtly laid open his envious and moroſe Humour, when nothing (not done by himſelf) could pleaſe him: Nay, when *Hannibal* had put his Army on Ship-board, and taken his leave of *Italy*, and when the People had therefore decreed a Thankſgiving-day, did *Fabius* ſtill oppoſe and diſturb the univerſal Joy of *Rome*, by ſpreading about his Fears and Apprehenſions, and by telling them, that the Commonwealth was never more in danger than now, and that *Hannibal* was a more dreadful Enemy under the Walls of *Carthage* than ever he had been in *Italy*; that it would be fatal to *Rome* whenever *Scipio* ſhould encounter his Victorious Army, ſtill warm with the Blood of ſo many *Roman* Generals, Dictators and Conſuls ſlain. Some of the People were ſtartled with theſe Declamations, and were brought to believe, that the farther off *Hannibal* was, the nearer was their Danger. But *Scipio* afterwards fought *Hannibal* and defeated him, and ſufficiently humbled the Pride of *Carthage*; whereby he rais'd again the drooping Spirits of the *Romans*, no more to be dejected; and firmly eſtabliſh'd their Empire, which the Tempeſt of this *Punick* War had ſo long cauſed to fluctuate.

But *Fabius Maximus* liv'd not to ſee the proſperous End of this War, and the final Overthrow of *Hannibal*, nor to rejoice in the well eſtabliſh'd Happineſs and Security of the Commonwealth; for about the time that *Hannibal* left *Italy*, he fell ſick and dy'd. We find in the Hiſtory of *Thebes*, *Epaminondas* dy'd ſo poor that he was bury'd upon the publick Charge: *Fabius*, on the contrary, dy'd very rich, yet ſuch was the Love of the People towards him, that every Man of them, by a general Tax, did contribute to defray his Funeral; thereby owning him their common Father, which made his End no leſs Honourable than his Life.

THE COMPARISON OF *FABIUS* with *PERICLES*.

YOU have here had the Lives of two Perſons very Illuſtrious for their Civil and Military Endowments: Let us firſt compare them in their Warlike Capacity. *Pericles* preſided in his Commonwealth, when it was in a moſt flouriſhing and opulent Condition, great in Power, and happy

in

in Succeſs; ſo that he ſeem'd to ſtand rather ſupported by, than ſupporting the Fortune of his Country. But the Buſineſs of *Fabius*, who undertook the Government in the worſt and moſt difficult times, was not to conſerve and maintain a well eſtabliſh'd Felicity of a proſperous State, but to raiſe and uphold a ſinking and ruinous Commonwealth. Beſides the Victories of *Cimon*, of *Myronides* and *Leocrates*, with thoſe many famous Exploits of *Tolmides*, were made uſe of by *Pericles*, only to entertain the People at Home, and to pleaſe their Fancy with Triumphs, Feaſts and Games of the *Circus* and Theatre; not to enlarge their Empire by proſecuting the War: Whereas *Fabius*, when he took upon him the Government, had the frightful Object before his Eyes, of *Roman* Armies deſtroy'd, of their Generals and Conſuls ſlain, of all the Countries round ſtrew'd with the dead Bodies, and the Rivers ſtain'd with the Blood of his Fellow-Citizens; and yet with his mature and ſolid Counſels, with the Firmneſs of his Reſolution, he, as it were, put his Shoulders to the falling Commonwealth, and kept it up from foundring, through the Failings and Weakneſs of others. Perhaps it may be more eaſy to govern a City broken and tam'd with Calamities and Adverſity, and compell'd to obey by Danger and Neceſſity, than to rule a People pamper'd and reſty with long Pro-

Proſperity, as were the *Athenians* when *Pericles* held the reins of Government. But then again, not to be daunted nor diſcompos'd with the vaſt heap of Calamities under which the People of *Rome* did at that time groan and ſuccumb, argues the Temper of *Fabius* to be invincible, and his Courage more than human.

We may ſet *Tarentum* re-taken, againſt *Samos* won by *Pericles*; and the Conqueſt of *Eubœa* we may put in ballance with the Towns of *Campania*; tho *Capua* it ſelf was afterwards ſubdued by the Conſuls *Furius* and *Appius*. I do not find that *Fabius* won any ſet Battel, but that againſt the *Ligurians*, for which he had his Triumph; whereas *Pericles* erected nine Trophies for as many Victories obtain'd by Land and by Sea. But no Action of *Pericles* can be compar'd to that memorable reſcue of *Minutius*, when *Fabius* redeem'd both him and his Army from utter deſtruction; an Action, which comprehends the height of Valour, of Conduct and Humanity. On the other ſide, it does not appear, that *Pericles* was ever ſo over-reach'd as *Fabius* was by *Hannibal* with his flaming Oxen; never was there ſo certain, and ſo great an Advantage loſt over an Enemy: For in the Valley of *Caſilinum*, *Hannibal* was ſhut up without any poſſibility of forcing his way out, and yet by Stratagem in the night he frees

Pericles's numerous Victories eclipſed by one of Fabius's.

frees himſelf out of thoſe Straits; and when day came, worſted the Enemy, who had him before at his Mercy.

It is the part of a good General, not only to provide for, and judg well of the preſent, but alſo to have a clear foreſight of things to come. In this *Pericles* excell'd, for he admoniſh'd the *Athenians*, and told them before-hand, what ruin their laſt War would bring upon them, by graſping more than they were able to manage. But *Fabius* was not ſo good a Prophet, when he denounced to the *Romans*, that the undertaking of *Scipio* would be the deſtruction of the Commonwealth. So that *Pericles* was a good Prophet of bad Succeſs, and *Fabius* was a bad Prophet of Succeſs that was good; and indeed, to loſe an advantage through diffidence, is no leſs blameable in a General, than to fall into danger for want of foreſight: For both theſe faults, tho of a contrary nature, ſpring from the ſame root, which is want of Judgment and Experience.

And for their Civil Policy; it is imputed to *Pericles*, that he was a lover of War, and that no terms of Peace, offer'd by the *Lacedemonians*, would content him. It is true, that *Fabius* alſo was not for yielding any thing to the *Carthaginians*, but would rather hazard all, than leſſen the Empire of *Rome*; yet this difference there was between them, that *Fabius* made War only to preſerve and recover his own, and *Pericles* to gain

gain what belong'd to others. But then, the mildneſs of *Fabius* towards his Collegue *Minutius* does, by way of Compariſon, highly reproach and condemn the eager proſecution of *Pericles*, and his practices to baniſh *Cimon* and *Thucydides*, who held with the Nobility, and were true lovers of their Country. Indeed, the Authority of *Pericles* in *Athens* was much greater than that of *Fabius* in *Rome*; for which reaſon it was more eaſy for him to prevent miſcarriages commonly ariſing from weakneſs and inſufficiency of Officers, ſince he had got the ſole nomination and management of them; only *Tolmides* broke looſe from him, and contrary to his Orders, unadviſedly fought with the *Bœotians*, and was ſlain: whereas *Fabius*, for want of that general Power and Influence upon the Officers, had not the means to obviate their Miſcarriages; but it had been happy for the *Romans* if his Authority had been greater; for ſo we may preſume, their Diſaſters had been fewer.

As to their Liberality and publick Spirit, *Pericles* was eminent in never taking any Gifts, and *Fabius* for giving his own Mony to ranſom his Soldiers; tho the ſum did not exceed ſix Talents. This right we muſt do *Pericles*, that no Man had ever greater opportunities to enrich himſelf (as having had Preſents offer'd him from ſo many Kings and Princes, and States of his Alliances) yet

no

no Man was ever more free from Corruption. And for the beauty and magnificence of Temples and publick Edifices, with which he adorn'd his Country, it muſt be confeſt, that all the Ornaments and Structures of *Rome*, to the time of the *Cæſars*, had nothing to compare, either in greatneſs of Deſign, or of Expence, with the Luſtre of thoſe which *Pericles* only erected at *Athens*.

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